

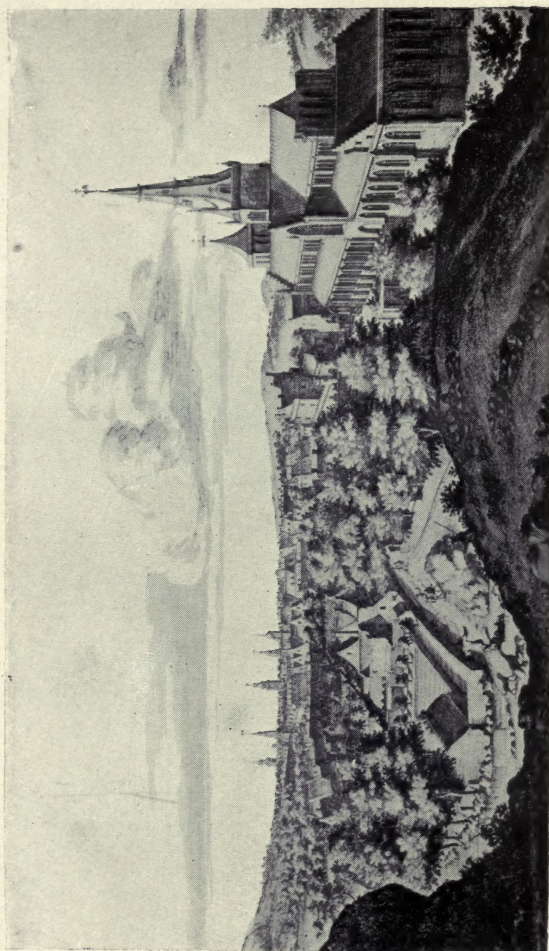
HISTORY OF GLASGOW

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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

BY

ROBERT RENWICK, LL.D.

LATE DEPUTE TOWN CLERK

AUTHOR OF "GLASGOW MEMORIALS" "ABSTRACTS OF GLASGOW PROTOCOLS" ETC.

AND

SIR JOHN LINDSAY, D.L.

TOWN CLERK OF GLASGOW

VOLUME I

PRE-REFORMATION PERIOD

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ROBERT RENWICK, 1841-1920

ROBERT RENWICK, son of Robert Renwick and his wife, Janet Alexander, was born on 4th March, 1841, at Torbank, Peeblesshire, in a cottage no longer standing. His great-grandfather, William Renwick, was a cooper and burgess of Peebles (1661-1733), whose widow, Barbara Smith, died in 1739. His grandfather lived at Skirling, Peeblesshire; and his father, Robert Renwick, was born there in 1812.¹ A family relationship to James Renwick, the well-known Covenanter, is uncertain from the meagre pedigree facts available, but a deep ancestral root in Peebles county and town is indisputable. Torbank, overlooking the Lyne Valley, sits on a beautiful grassy slope, with the ground rising quickly ridge beyond ridge behind it to the sky-line.

At school in Peebles, under a Mr. Willins of notable local reputation as a teacher, the young Renwick finished as dux in 1856. He then entered the office of Stuart & Blackwood, a firm of Writers in Peebles, with an excellent general practice. He was already drawn to literature, not only reading widely both in prose and poetry but himself dabbling in verse. His themes included Neidpath Castle and Macbeth, but perhaps his brightest effusion was *The Two Kings, A Ballad*, written

¹ A memorandum by Dr. Renwick is in these terms: "William Renwick my great grandfather, cooper and burgess in Peebles, who died 8th January, 1733, aged 72 years, also Barbara Smith, his spouse, who died 8th January, 1739, aged 72."

in laudation of the chartered rights of salmon fishing in the Tweed. About 1864 he was (probably by Alexander Harris, formerly his fellow clerk in Peebles, and then in the town clerk's office at Edinburgh) introduced to Mr. James D. Marwick, then recently appointed town clerk of Edinburgh, who took him into his staff. This, in conjunction with his literary leanings, proved a determining fact for his future. We can see the forces that almost inevitably made him an antiquary.

It was a time of continued expansion in record studies. The historical renaissance early in the century had been followed by a brood of Clubs such as the Bannatyne, which Sir Walter Scott had founded, and the Maitland and the Abbotsford, which continued the magician's spell. The energetic tradition, though faltering a little, was still effective enough to arouse new aspirations of research. Historical and legal impulses now were probably stronger than those of literature, which had held the ascendant while Scott lived. Cities and burghs were legitimately bethinking themselves of their charters and records as containing memorials of a great past. In 1863 a resolution to print the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs in Scotland started a far reaching and successful movement. The first volume bore the imprint of the year 1866. The initiative of the Convention was promptly followed by the burghs themselves and the burgh antiquaries. Credit has been rightly claimed for the Convention as the essential influence leading to the formation of the Scottish Burgh Records Society in 1868 for the study and publication of Scottish burghal archives. In this movement Mr. Marwick, as both town clerk of Edinburgh and clerk to the Convention, took a foremost place, working with all his opportunities in consultation and co-operation with Professor Cosmo Innes, John Hill Burton, John Stuart, Joseph Robertson, and David Laing. Cosmo Innes, let us remember, edited the *Chartulary of Glasgow* in 1843

Mr. Marwick had high company in these masters, to whom in the vigour of his organising faculty he was a powerful second. The Society had a considerable response, and was destined during its career of forty-one years to achieve its ideal of gleaning from the ancient town registers and guild minutes and the protocols of the old burgh notaries the authentic story of civic law and usage and life, touching also at continual turns the burghal share in national fortunes and public events. An immense repository was thus opened, and the lore of the burghs for at least four centuries was read.

To the new Society's publications Mr. Marwick devoted himself with assiduity and spirit. He was the Society's chief editor, no fewer than seventeen of its entire two-and-twenty volumes being brought out by him. In this high task he had the benefit of young Renwick's assistance, its value doubtless growing with experience. A memory of the Society survives in an early list of the subscribers written *ante* 1870 in the beautiful clerkly hand Renwick then wrote. Except for the corporate subscribers and two or three very late recruits of the Society it may be doubted whether a single member on the list now survives.

The youthful Renwick's antiquarian beginnings can be traced back to Peebles, as his reading there included Ross's *Lectures on Conveyancing*, an advanced work seldom tackled by junior students. The spirit of the old burgh must early have impressed him, not only offering historical problems to which he returned to the end of his days with unblunted zest, but also luring him beyond the bounds of Peebles to explore the wider domain of the burghs as a medieval institution. In Edinburgh this trend of thought was very directly furthered by the turn his work was to take under Mr. Marwick upon the old records both of the Convention and of certain burghs, beginning with Edinburgh and Peebles. The first publication of the Burgh Records Society was a collection of *Ancient Laws*

and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland, vol. i., edited by Cosmo Innes, then at the height of his historical fame. His introduction outlined the foundation of the Scottish burghs of the twelfth century. He did not live to complete his useful book, which fell to other hands more than forty years later, when it dignified the close of the Burgh Records Society. In 1869 there appeared the first volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*. Renwick was by this time in the full current of participation as a selector and transcriber in the production of the work edited by Mr. Marwick. To this period belonged occasional incidents of association worthy of note. Cosmo Innes, going into the town clerk's chambers, found Renwick busy at his task of transcription. It was an occupation which lay near the old professor's heart, and he expressed the pleasure it gave him to see a young man at work on the old handwriting. In the innermost counsels of the Burgh Records Society was David Laing, and it was often the duty of the subordinate of Mr. Marwick to visit the room at the Signet Library where the famous old bibliographer carried on his work with piles of books built up like ramparts in confusion on the floor about him. Of all the Edinburgh group it was apparently Laing who most impressed Renwick by his extraordinary knowledge of the Edinburgh council records. Edinburgh itself somehow had not laid that permanent hold of his imagination which might have been anticipated.

In 1872, in the preface to the *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles*, issued by the Society, William Chambers, afterwards Lord Provost of Edinburgh, but more famous in Scottish annals for his place in his publishing firm, attributed to Renwick's zeal and industry the existence of the volume, which indeed chiefly consisted of extracts taken by him from the burghal muniments, in the search for and recovery of which the preface makes evident the fact that Renwick had no inconsiderable share. Probably in this Peebles

book Renwick found his vocation, picking out from the original writings the significant entries of record, and making the burgh itself register an autobiography. His intimate knowledge of Peebles and his sense of the typical importance of the material with which he was working gradually gave him an intimate familiarity with the medieval burghal system. The unity of the burgh, its organic personality, was already clear to the patient interpreter.

It is difficult to bring back from distant memories the portrait of youthful manhood, but Dr. Gunn, one of Renwick's oldest friends in Peebles, describes his "rubicund boyish and buoyant personality" frequenting the byeways of Tweeddale on holiday or in summer vacation. A capital walker and an ardent and successful angler, fondest of burn fishing, he held the key to the charm and beauty of his native district. His brother writes: "He had a keen sense of humour, and in congenial company he was a racy talker. He was a keen angler, and as he swung over the hills to the burns with creel and rod he could keep up the conversation with a constant flow of illuminating talk."

In 1873, when Mr. Marwick became town clerk of Glasgow, Renwick accompanied him to the west, and his official life thenceforward was spent in the municipal service of Glasgow. From 1873 onward he had charge of the conveyancing department and of the city muniments. In 1874 he was admitted a Notary Public, an office the history of which had always an attraction for him. His notarial motto, "Veritas," was peculiarly apt alike in its personal and professional application. In 1885 he was appointed depute-town-clerk and Keeper of the Burgh Register of Sasines, and he continued to hold with complete acceptance the double office until his death. He acted as Assessor of the Burgh Court, a historical survival in which he took great interest, and at which he was often practically judge as well as assessor. There were about 20,000

ejection cases in the court in a year, but the ancient procedure, applied with all kindliness and consideration, enabled these cases to be disposed of in a few minutes one morning a week. Defended cases were rare, and appeals and suspensions unknown.

Anyone looking at a bookcase filled with his writings might have assumed that he did not do much other work. No greater mistake could have been made. As keeper of the Burgh Register of Sasines he collated personally every deed which was recorded—the numbers running to many hundreds, and in certain years to thousands. He drew or revised the conveyances of property bought or sold by the Corporation, except those under the Police Acts, and, for a time, those under the City Improvement Acts. He, personally, was the sole “Searcher” of the Burgh Records, and certified the presence or absence of burdens affecting thousands of separate properties in the ancient “royalty.” He also took his share in advising as to the parliamentary and general legal business of the City.

One who from his position in the town clerk’s office had excellent opportunity to judge his quality as a man of affairs has kindly written for this memoir a notice of his official services :

“ It is right to say that he was an accomplished practical conveyancer, and that in his first few years in Glasgow he had a heavy task in completing old transactions and in recovering and arranging the series of Corporation title-deeds which three careless removals had thrown into gross confusion. His accurate conveyancing, combined with his antiquarian zeal, resulted in the resuscitation of numerous lost feu-duties, mostly of small amount, but carrying with them claims, on ‘untaxed entry,’ to casualties of large extent. What he recovered for the city in this way was more than equal to his salary. He sought no credit for such work, and, indeed, when in 1885 he was appointed on the death of Mr. Andrew Cunningham to be a depute town clerk he was personally unknown to the majority of the town-councillors. Even after he was a depute town clerk he insisted on his subordinates taking his place at council and committee meetings.”



ROBERT RENWICK, LL.D.

In his professional capacity and as keeper of the archives he had a well-trying reputation for methodical attention in substance and detail, and for an unfailing memory on points of topography and history which came within his ken from the study of the Glasgow histories and memoirs and the perusal of the original records. His experience in Edinburgh and his studies of the Peebles minute books and notarial protocols had shown him how infinitely first-hand evidence transcends all secondary versions and how needful it is to check by recourse where possible to primary sources, the embellished later narrative to which all too uncritically the name of tradition is wont to be applied.

How quickly after coming to Glasgow Renwick found his way into the heart of the burgh records there is evident from the appearance in 1876 of a volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, A.D. 1573-1642. In the preface the editor, Mr. Marwick, with a frank emphasis which did him honour, expressed very exactly the nature and measure of the service rendered by his assistant. "In this work," he said, "as in the corresponding selections from the records of Edinburgh and Peebles, the editor owes everything to the care, intelligence, and accuracy of Mr. Renwick, by whom the transcripts have been made, the proof sheets collated, and the index prepared." The same service he was to continue to render in selecting and presenting the text in at least six other solid tomes of Glasgow record, edited by Mr. Marwick, who was knighted in 1888. The latest of these tomes, in which Sir James's name stood alone in the editorship, was in 1905, and in the preface he took occasion to observe regarding Renwick that his intimate knowledge of Old Glasgow was unique. In 1906 Renwick's name for the first time stood along with Sir James's on the title page of the second volume of *Charters and other Documents relating to the City of Glasgow*, Vol. II., A.D. 1649-1707, with Appendix, A.D. 1434-1648.

It was a becoming close to a series which began in 1876 that the long colleagueship should be thus formally commemorated. Sir James had now retired from the town clerkship, and had practically committed to Renwick's hands *pro futuro* the editorial control of his burghal trust.

After Sir James's death in 1908 Renwick, as a faithful historical executor, brought out his chief's three posthumous works, *The River Clyde and the Clyde Burghs* (1909), *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts* (1909), and *Early Glasgow* (1911). To the last-named volume he appended for anniversary reasons a final chapter written by him in continuation of Sir James, so as to bring down the narrative from 1609 until 1611, when Glasgow was by a formal writing, though without any formal accession of privileges, erected into a royal burgh.

Renwick's independent reputation from an early period may be inferred from his selection by the antiquaries of Stirling and Lanark to edit the records of these burghs—Stirling, which he accomplished in three volumes in 1884-89; and Lanark in one volume in 1893, all duly equipped with luminous prefaces, setting forth the historical position of each of these ancient and important corporate communities.

In 1891, in conjunction with Mr. A. M. Scott, a Glasgow solicitor, remembered as an antiquary for his monograph on the battle of Langside, he drew up a detailed report on thirteen volumes of Glasgow Presbytery Records from 1592 until 1774. He seldom missed a chance that brought grist to the antiquary's mill, and the presbytery minutes were faithfully read, yielding many facts and incidental touches of local life for that prolonged commentary on Glasgow, which in various forms was to come from his pen. Nor was it merely for himself he studied; he transcribed the whole of Vol. I. of these Presbytery Records, and presented his MS. transcript to the Presbytery.

Renwick had taken voluminous notes from the muniments of Peebles as well as from general sources, and these he collected

into a series of articles for the *Peeblesshire Advertiser* in 1871-72. Twenty years later he resumed the subject, and finally put out a small volume of very restricted issue in 1892 entitled *Gleanings from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Peebles*. Its success no doubt encouraged him to his next enterprise. Between 1894 and 1897 he wrote for the same newspaper numerous articles on the parishes of the county. What he had already done for the burgh he now did for the whole shire, collecting for its upland ranges and its beautiful little valleys the annals which he had traced in the multifarious documentary sources explored during his years of research. These topographical essays, rich in extracts and references, were collected in volume form in 1897 as *Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities*.

If his love for Peebles was thus attractively made manifest, the fact that Glasgow held its just and equal half in his historical affection was shown by his preparation simultaneously with these Peebles papers of a unique and laborious calendar of the Protocols of the town clerks and notaries of Glasgow from A.D. 1547 down to 1600, a systematic analysis and close abstract preserving every date and place and name in the record, and supplying where requisite the explanation of obscure allusions or doubtful locality. No one but Renwick could have done this with the sureness of local knowledge which has made the Protocols as edited and calendared by far the most important repertory of information, topographical, industrial, genealogical, and intimately historical for the ancient city in its passage through a great national evolution. When the Protocols began Glasgow was still essentially a rural community; when they ceased the city was swiftly shaping landward and seaward towards its future as a world-centre of manufacture and trade. The resolution to condense and edit the protocols came about in direct consequence of a search through the whole set by the writer of this notice. Renwick remarked that he had a good mind to make an abridgement

and inventory ; his idea developed, but before deciding upon his plan he took counsel with special antiquarian friends and scholars. The list included the late John Guthrie Smith, historian of the Blane Valley ; Dr. Thomas Dickson, long the historical curator of the Register House ; Joseph Bain, famous as author of the *Calendars of Scottish Documents* which have since 1881 been the greatest general work of documentary reference for early Scottish history ; and C. D. Donald, that tireless worker in the antiquities of Old Glasgow. Dr. J. T. T. Brown was also consulted, and no doubt others. In this correspondence there are few pleasanter episodes than his association with Joseph Bain, a Glasgow man whose warmth of feeling for his native Cambuslang and the adjacent city had found its first expression in his coeditorship in 1875 of the *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*, based on the capitular protocols of Cuthbert Simson. Once settled, the scheme for a comprehensive editing of the town-clerk's sixteenth century protocols was energetically and methodically carried out. The chief collections thus made accessible were those of William Hegait (1547-68) and Henry Gibsone (1555-76), and, supplemented by the protocols of four other notaries, formed the staple for eleven slim but closely documented volumes, completed in 1900, and laden with Glasgow history.

A lucky opportunity came in connection with the British Association's visit to Glasgow in 1901, when he was requested to sketch the history of Glasgow for incorporation in the Association's Handbook. This led him to survey anew the whole course of events from the twelfth century, and to sum up his inferences and conclusions in a succinct and orderly account of *Historical Glasgow*. A compact and clear presentment of the rise, progress, and character of Glasgow from its foundation until modern times, this sketch made its mark as an admirable summary, linking in due sequence the geographical, historical, industrial, and mercantile forces which

created the city. It also proved an excellent ground plan for the direction of Renwick's own future examination of the determining elements in the civic development. Probably, however, no work of his, except the present volume, combines so large a store of vital and pictorial features as his *Glasgow Memorials*, the handsome book published in 1908, in which he gathered up much of the invaluable miscellaneous material, gradually amassing itself in his special press articles for years before.

In conjunction with friends, and especially with A. B. M'Donald, City Engineer, he drew up from time to time various maps illustrative of particular phases of burghal growth in earlier times. These maps or plans were reconstructions of no common skill : nothing short of the exhaustive topographical and record knowledge which he alone combined would have sufficed to produce such lucid and informing charts of the past as his re-picturings of Stirling, Peebles, and Lanark, as well as of Glasgow, with its suburban communities prior to their absorption in the urban area. Probably these maps indicate that Renwick in his studies, always visualised the past, which accounts for the signal clearness of his localisations and the security of his inferences on the gradual expansion of the towns, but particularly of Glasgow. His monographs on Gorbals and Calton and Anderston (for the Regality Club in 1900 and 1912) were invaluable sketches of these once independent baronial burghs, before they were welded into the fabric of the city. He knew the detached constituent elements as intimately as the central organism which was to incorporate them all.

In October 1908 the anticipated close of the work of the Burgh Records Society necessitated rearrangements, and on the motion of Lord Provost Sir William Bilsland, Renwick was authorised to continue the series of Extracts combined with Charters and other Constitutional Documents from 1717 till the passing of the Burgh Reform Act of 1833. With customary promptitude the work was undertaken and accomplished in

seven volumes, the first volume for the years 1718-38 appearing in 1909, and the last, for 1823-33, in 1916, comprising in each case a lucid introduction. The series from 1718 until 1833 was issued under the auspices of the Glasgow Corporation alone. The Burgh Records Society ceased to exist in 1910, its last publication fitly coming from Renwick's pen. He had splendidly qualified himself to complete the collection of burghal laws begun by Cosmo Innes, and his volume of *The Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, vol. ii., A.D. 1424-1707, ending the Society's work, closed a considerable and honourable chapter of burghal history.

It is now time to schedule chronologically the publications as the real items of the author's biographical calendar :

1871-1872. Selections from Peebles Records relative to the period 1652-1714, published in *Peeblesshire Advertiser*.

1872. Communication from Mr. Renwick to Lord Provost William Chambers regarding the extant records of Peebles made use of in the Burgh Records Society volume of *Charters and Documents relating to the Burgh of Peebles* (1872). It is incorporated in the Preface of that volume.

1884. Charters and other documents relating to the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1124-1705. Quarto.

1887. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1519-1666. Quarto.

1889. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1667-1752. Quarto.

This included a plan of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, shewing its condition and surroundings about the year 1700. Compiled from authentic sources. (Drawn by A. B. M'Donald.)

1892. Gleanings from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Peebles, A.D. 1604-1652. Peebles : Watson & Smyth. Duodecimo.
Reprinted from the *Peeblesshire Advertiser*.

The Gleanings included a Plan of the Royal Burgh of Peebles compiled in illustration of Gleanings from the Burgh Records, 1604-1652. (Drawn by Alexander A. Thomson.) This was reproduced in the second edition of the *Gleanings* in 1912.

1893. Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Lanark, A.D. 1150-1722. Quarto.

This Volume of *Extracts* included a Plan shewing bounds of the Royal Burgh of Lanark as described in Charter by King Charles I. (Drawn by Alexander A. Thomson.)

Note.—Minor newspaper articles in substance incorporated in *Glasgow Memorials*, 1908, are for the most part omitted here.

- 1894-1900. Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow (1530-1600). Eleven volumes. Quarto.

Vol. I. included Sketch Plan of the City of Glasgow compiled in illustration of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow. (Drawn by A. B. M'Donald.) Reduced and reproduced in Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, 1911, p. 1.

1894. Article on "Charters and Manuscripts" in the *Memorial Catalogue of the Old Glasgow Exhibition*, 1894. Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts. Large Quarto.

1895. Articles in *Scots Lore* on White Hat symbol: Friars Preachers: A Rentaller's title.

1897. Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities. 7" x 5". Peebles: Watson & Smyth.

Aisle and Monastery, St. Mary of Geddes Aisle in the Parish Church of Peebles, and the Church and Monastery of the Holy Cross of Peebles. 8" x 5½". Glasgow: Carson & Nicol.

1900. Paper on "The Barony of Gorbals." (*Regality Club*, fourth series, part first, March, 1900.)

Plan of Village of Gorbals. Plan shewing site of Great Lodging, St. Ninian's Leper Hospital, Orchards, Yards, etc. (Compiled for *The Barony of Gorbals*, 1900. Drawn by A. B. M'Donald.)

Plan of *The Barony of Gorbals*, 1795. (Compiled as above, 1900. Drawn by A. B. M'Donald.)

Sketch Plan shewing sites of principal buildings and places in the vicinity of Glasgow Cathedral in the 16th Century. Prepared for *Glasgow Protocols*, 1530-1600. (Drawn by A. B. M'Donald. Originally appeared in *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. xi., 1900. Reduced and reproduced in Marwick's *Early Glasgow*, 1911, p. 328.)

1901. Historical Glasgow. 8" x 5".

Part of the Glasgow Handbook of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1901.

Reprinted separately, Glasgow, 1901. 106 pp.

1902. Article on "Scottish Burghal Charters" in *Scottish History and Life*, 1902. (Being the memorial volume of the Historical Loan Collection in the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901.)

Article on Endowment of a Chaplainry in Glasgow Cathedral in *Scottish Antiquary*, January, 1903.

1903. Peebles Parish and Church in Early History. 8" x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
Peebles : A. Redpath.
Peebles during the reign of Queen Mary. 7" x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".
Peebles : The Neidpath Press.
1905. Review of Sir Archibald Laurie's *Scottish Charters*
in *Peeblesshire Advertiser*, March 4, 1905.
An inventory of Peebles County Records communicated
to the *Peeblesshire Advertiser*.
1906. Charters and other documents relating to the City of
Glasgow, vol. ii., A.D. 1649-1707. With Appendix,
A.D. 1434-1648, edited by Sir James D. Marwick and
Robert Renwick. Glasgow. Quarto.
Paper on "The Archiepiscopal Temporalities in the
Regality of Glasgow." (*Regality Club*, fourth series,
part third. December, 1906.)
Plan of the Barony and Regality of Glasgow, 1773.
Reproduced for the Regality Club with additions (by A. B.
M'Donald for "The Archiepiscopal Temporalities," 1906).
Article on Glasgow Fair (*Evening Times*, July 7).
1907. Article on Glasgow and the Union, in *Glasgow Herald*,
February 13.
Reprinted in *The Union of 1707*. By Various Writers.
Glasgow : George Outram & Co., 1907. 8vo.
Article on "Buchanan's connection with the University
and Grammar School of Glasgow," in *George Buchanan*
Quater-Centenary Studies, 1906. MacLehose.
1908. Articles on "The Provost of Glasgow" (*Evening Times*,
June 19). "Suppressing the Covenant" (*Ibid.* Septem-
ber 1).
- 1908-1916. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow.
Eight volumes, quarto, issued as undernoted :
A.D. 1691-1717. Glasgow, 1908.
1718-1738. Glasgow, 1909.
1739-1759. Glasgow, 1911.
1760-1780. Glasgow, 1912.
1781-1795. Glasgow, 1913.
1796-1808. Glasgow, 1914.
1809-1822. Glasgow, 1915.
1823-1833. Glasgow, 1916.
1908. Glasgow Memorials. MacLehose. Quarto.
Articles on "Convention of Burghs" in *Evening Times*,
April 8, and on "The Cloch-stane," *Ibid.* April 29.
1909. Map of the City of Glasgow. By R. Renwick, Town
Clerk Depute, and A. B. M'Donald, City Engineer.
Articles on "Glasgow History shewn in a Map" (*Herald*,
July 9); "Old Prisons of Glasgow" (*Weekly Herald*,

August 7); " Craft Guilds of Glasgow " (*Herald*, October 9);
 " A Fortified Residence in Glasgow " (*Evening Times*,
 February 15); " Bishop Forest " (*Evening Times*, August 3).

1910. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Peebles,
 1652-1714. With Appendix, 1367-1665. Glasgow. Quarto.
 Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland,
 vol. ii., A.D. 1424-1707.

Articles on " The Procurator Fiscal " (*Herald*, February
 18); " Provand's Lordship " (*Herald*, December 22);
 " Glasgow Trades House " (*Herald*, June 30); " Glasgow
 as a Royal Burgh " (*Herald*, September 24); " Peebles
 in the Olden Time " (*Herald*, October 20).

1911. Article on " The Scottish Exhibition—Muniments of
 Royal Burghs " (*Herald*, June 16), and " The Old Burgh
 of Calton " (*Herald*, July 1).

1912. The Burgh of Peebles. Gleanings from its Records, 1604-
 1652. Second edition. Peebles: Allan Smyth. Quarto.

Article on " Glasgow Green " (*Herald*, April 6).

Paper on " Burghs of Barony of Calton and Anderston "
 (*Regality Club*, fourth series, part fourth. June, 1912).

1915. Article on " Dr. Chalmers and Glasgow Town Council "
 (*Herald*, April 14).

1917. Abstract of Documents relating to the City of Glasgow,
 1833-1872. Glasgow. Quarto.

Article on " Kirklands, Jedderfield, and the Rae Burn,
 in *Peeblesshire Advertiser*, May 11, 1917.

The foregoing hand-list will probably facilitate local study,
 A real bibliography, while a boon to research, would without
 doubt enhance the measure of respect due to Renwick's diligence
 and his fidelity to his ideals.

The centre of gravity in the sources of Glasgow history was
 in some degree shifted by these publications, in which the
 names of Marwick and Renwick are almost inseparably inter-
 twined. The formal historians of Glasgow had scarcely risen
 to the full height of their responsibilities. They had been
 content with a few ill-edited passages from the civic muni-
 ments. They neither knew the body of manuscripts to be
 examined nor the constitutional niceties of burghal status
 to be critically determined; imperfectly alive to the more
 ancient historic life of the City, they found its greatness and

therefore their own commanding theme mainly, if not wholly, in the modern, or almost modern, merchants and manufacturers, whose country houses were homes of a mercantile aristocracy, which in making itself had made Glasgow and had made the Clyde. The mass and weight of new ore dug from the mine of record greatly altered the balance. The centre of gravity of Glasgow history is still modern rather than antique, but the long continuous evolution, the remote forces in the making of the city, the mentality alike of its churchmen and its citizens, and above all the variety of its intellectual mercantile and marine enterprise all unite to throw back the centre point and shew the causes of things as far more complex and remote than men supposed. John M'Ure and his successors, for the most part, had laid the general foundations with little art. The Reform time was too hot with politics for calm institutional investigation. John Strang, "Senex" (Robert Reid), John Buchanan, and J. O. Mitchell exploited a most influential epoch of Glasgow's industrial development. Marwick and Renwick set up anew the medieval city, and equipped it with an array of title deed and protocol from the first founding of the bishop's burgh to the Reforms of 1833. Glasgow thus offered a fine example in the treatment of its archives, and rendered a municipal homage to history difficult to match.

In his way across a wide tract of historical antiquity, Renwick was constantly on the edge of subjects of controversy, but his accuracy, sagacity, and tolerant moderation steered him through, if not quite without friction at least without a bitter word of archaeological debate. The nearest approach to a controversy he ever had was in relation to the position of Peebles Castle, which an eccentric opponent would fain have spirited away up river to Neidpath, albeit the tenor of a whole series of documentary references makes plain the identification of the "Castlehill" in the angle of the junction.

of Peebles Water and the Tweed as the true site of the royal castle which David I. had founded in its pristine form, but which as a structure had ceased to be in evidence by about the middle of the fourteenth century.

While Renwick cannot be said to have established any new archaeological principle or any constitutional or functional characteristic of importance in burghal politics or economy, the immense lore of the burgh as a generic institution, its deep-laid store of customary rule and observance was, as never before, exhibited by his transcriptions, disclosing recurrent in burgh after burgh identical or analogous usages. On many a hereditary disputation he cast a new and sometimes decisive light, as when he disproved the inference that the Cross of Glasgow was ever at the Drygait or elsewhere than at the present Cross, or when he cleared up the mystery of Bishop Forest, or when he discovered that the Bakers had "newlie biggit" their mill on the Kelvin in 1569, a fact shrewdly serving to clinch the argument from tradition that the gift or grant of the mill came from Regent Moray after his victory at Langside the year before. Of such documentary triumphs Renwick enjoyed not few.

On the complex problems of the general origins of burghs, although he was no adventurous theorist, he followed acutely the course of historical discussion, reading in particular with keen interest the works of Professor Frederic W. Maitland, Mary Bateson, and Adolphus Ballard. The purely legal and formal side of old transactions greatly appealed to him. To a critic of his final volume, who suggested some curtailment of narrative of symbolic ecclesiastical detail, he replied that in the early period those details were so often almost the sole incidents preserved that it was imperative to utilise them. One may dispute the argument and yet acknowledge that the traditions of antique ceremony are worthy of remembrance. The art of history is chiefly the detection and due registration of relationships of general events. To Renwick fell many more

of the vital conjunctions for the annals of Glasgow than fell to any of his predecessors. He not only made discoveries himself : for fifty years he was preparing the material for the discoveries of others.

The recognition of the true measure of his service to history was visible in the growing and public appreciation both of himself and of his work. Various expressions of this, in particular on three occasions, gave him great gratification.

First, and perhaps chief of all, was the tribute of gratitude from Peebles in 1897, when the freedom of the burgh was conferred upon him, and he was admitted *honoris causa* a burgess and guild brother. He bargained for simplicity in the function, which was memorable to witness, including the delightful, modest, and yet earnest speech he made in reply, vindicating the claim of the burgh to David I. as its founder.

A secondary recognition, rather late in arrival, came in 1915, when Glasgow University, in respect of his eminent historical merits, made him a doctor of laws. His many friends among the officials of the city, Sir John Lindsay, town clerk, in the chair, presented him with the robes and hood appropriate.

A third compliment was relative to the project for the work to which this notice is a prefix. It had become increasingly evident that Renwick stood alone and incomparable in his mastery of the story of burghal Glasgow ; and when the commission given to him to bring the charters and extracts down to 1833 was fully executed and the last volume brought out in 1916, a suggestion was thrown out in the *Scottish Historical Review*, confirmed and emphasised in various forms by the press of Glasgow, that he ought to be invited under the highest learned and civic auspices to dedicate his ripe historical faculty to a full general history of the city. The proposal was fortunate. Sir John Lindsay wrote a letter, putting it before Lord Provost Sir Thomas Dunlop, who laid it before the Corporation, which with unanimous cordiality gave its appro-

bation. The invitation thus handsomely extended was heartily accepted, although neither Dr. Renwick nor his encouraging friends forgot that he was seventy-five. Greatly heartened to the new task he turned to it with characteristic promptitude, vigour of purpose, and thoroughness of system. His plan was to follow the leading lines of the sketch he had written in 1901, and to expand his "Historical Glasgow" into a formal and comprehensive *History of Glasgow*. So vigorous was his progress that within little more than a year the first volume was complete, except for the last touches of revisal of proof of his preface. He seemed to enjoy the task, in which he made steady headway. There was no sign of over-pressure; his habitual deliberate fashion of work, without hurry but with persistent diligence, was maintained. But an attack of illness in 1919 probably left him materially weaker, although his recovery seemed both rapid and complete. Mid-winter found him with the text of Vol. I. passed for press and with his preface on proof. At the end of the second week of January he was active and cheery, almost beyond his wont both in official duties and in the final adjustment of his preface. He told a friend a day or two previously that he was "taking short views of life." His jocular phrase was truer perhaps than he thought. He was at business on the Saturday with every sign of active health, but early on Sunday morning, January 11, 1920, a sudden seizure came; he never recovered consciousness, and he died in the afternoon. His death took place at 8 Balmoral Crescent, where he had had his studious and happy home for almost thirty wonderfully productive years. He was interred in Craigton Cemetery. Press notices in the leading journals made fit expression of appreciation and regret, extolling the palaeographer and burghal annalist while recording the modesty linked with geniality of the man and, as it was happily styled, the "atmosphere of intellectual hospitality" with which he welcomed his fellows in quests of history.

This is not the occasion for a full estimate of his value as a historian, especially when the present volume best commits that question to the impartial test of time. To its composition he had dedicated his most careful thought, ripened by nearly forty-eight years of unique familiarity with the muniments of Glasgow. It was no patchwork of reprint hastily compiled : he was genuinely and radically remaking the whole record as in the light of the latest knowledge its trend presented itself. It was the last word of Robert Renwick. His memory among the historians is in no need of that charity which he himself never failed to manifest alike towards his contemporaries and his predecessors in the studies he loved.

His modesty narrowly escaped being a fault. Constitutionally so retiring that he shrank from meeting strangers, he yet was the most approachable of men. He was much sought for his historical knowledge and counsel. What student of Old Glasgow was there who did not consult him ? His intimate friendships were too many to record, but the names of William Young, the artist, and the Rev. James Primrose must not be left untold. But no one appears to remember his ever having addressed a literary or antiquarian society. Overtures made to him to lecture in connection with a university foundation were unavailing. He preferred to work in his own way. He fought shy of all outside social activities. His son says he never saw his father idle. It was his practice to be at work before breakfast, sometimes for two or three hours, and his capacity for plodding through a heavy task was prodigious. " Eident was he but and ben." He read the old script with astonishing ease and familiarity. He never used spectacles, and to the last met his problems of decipherment without a glass. An even temper and placid good humour never failed him, and could turn the edge even of discomfiture.

His marriage in 1868 to Agnes Wallace of Mauchline, Ayrshire, gave him a home of affection, in which his fondness

for children found its gratification, and he saw a family grow up around him in a circle of happiness in which a spirit of simple contentment left him considerably free to prosecute his ceaseless study of the old burghs. He is survived by his widow, two sons and four daughters.

The portrait prefixed admirably renders the man—the kindly face, the gentle spirit, the quick eye, the pose of natural unaffected dignity. To some of us it will recall hours of happy memory over many years—hours of instructive collation and intimate communings with an accomplished medievalist, hours that cannot return.

His library was of modest dimensions; he was not a collector. He had a most tenacious memory which time never seemed to impair. His charity in judgment was constitutional, his patience infinite. His style in writing might lack animation and his narrative lose something from his objection to emphasis, but he lived up to his motto of “*Veritas*” and had the highest historic quality, the genius of taking pains.

His way of gathering the purport of disconnected fragmentary evidences was only one of many forms in which his intense interest in his records was revealed. The annals of the scriptorium are dull only to the outsider. His prefaces, balanced by appendices of citation, ensured the preservation of every ground of proof. He was weary of empty repetitions, and jocularly boasted that he had never styled David I. the “sore saint,” nor James VI. the “Scottish Solomon.”

What the old notaries before him had done to register the life of the community and the topography of the place, Renwick in broader and better fashion achieved not less faithfully by his many books, not jealously shutting up his material in secret protocols, but making them for the first time a connected whole for general information. After all, what is the historian but a notary *in excelsis*? Surpassing any predecessor of either

craft by the extent and variety of his output, his acuteness as a topographer, his sleepless memory of facts and his fidelity to the mass of record he interpreted, he holds a place all his own in the goodly fellowship of those who have built up the story of the city of Glasgow. The work he leaves behind him, not the gleanings but the harvest of half a century, is in great measure the primary authority of the civic history, and his memory will endure. It is the last office and much valued privilege of old friendship, an intimate and genial association of nearly thirty years, to add this stone to the cairn of Glasgow's greatest chronicler.

PREFACE

MATERIAL for the early history of Glasgow was not very accessible when the eighteenth century historians, M'Ure, Gibson, Denholm, and Brown, compiled their works, and this mainly accounts for the extremely limited extent to which original sources of information are used by these authors. Towards such excusable neglect the present generation might be indifferent if it were certain that everything of local historical value, then in existence, were still available, and this may safely be assumed with regard to the bulk of the manuscripts, but there are grounds for believing that some have disappeared in the interval.

All the muniments which Archbishop Beaton took with him when he left the country at the time of the Reformation were retained in Paris till near the end of the eighteenth century, but by good fortune they had come under the notice of Thomas Innes, an eminent elucidator of ancient Scottish annals. Innes was a Roman Catholic priest and was latterly vice-principal of the Scots College, where most of the Glasgow manuscripts were deposited. These documents, as well as those deposited in the Chartreuse of Paris, he had carefully examined in the course of his historical inquiries, and he had been specially gratified with the proof they afforded of the legitimacy of the Stewart line of kings. Public attention having been directed to the results of these investigations, Father Innes was often applied to for information procurable

from the Glasgow manuscripts. The University of Glasgow asked him to supply extracts of the writings relating to that institution, and a similar request came from the magistrates and council of Glasgow with reference to the documents specially relating to the city.

In consequence of the communications thus opened, and the correspondence which followed, a number of authenticated transcripts were transmitted to the University in 1738, and later on a complete copy of the Episcopal Register was supplied. In 1739 the magistrates and council were presented with transcripts of the early city charters and other writs in which the municipality were more immediately concerned. Till the original documents were returned to this country, at a later date, it is probable that investigators of the early ecclesiastical and municipal history of Glasgow obtained most of their information from these transcripts supplied by Father Innes.

John M'Ure, Glasgow's first historian, was keeper of the Register of Sasines for the Regality of Glasgow and adjoining district, from which register deeds relating to the burgh were excluded, and thus he had no special knowledge of the city so far as could be learned from its registers. But M'Ure claimed that his nativity in the city, great age, long experience and employment, had given him more than ordinary occasion to know the state of the town, while at "no small difficulty and expense" he had procured from Paris copies of such documents as he judged essentially necessary to illustrate his work. M'Ure's history was published two years before the University procured its first transcripts, and therefore he had to depend on what was obtainable from Paris direct. Father Innes, whom he styles "the learned and ingenious Mr. Thomas Innes," supplied a copy of the foundation charter of 1175-8, where it is provided that the city was to have all the privileges of a royal burgh; and in the history it is bluntly

De Secunda dñi
res de suo dñi
epo glasp. per
nente.

Haad me veditte & concessisse Co & eccie ja kenceg'm de clasp
gu in ppeciam etam totam decimam meam de mo Chay
in animalib; & pocal de kregua. & Cuneagay. & de Ehuil &
de kenne unoq; anno nisi tñt qñ ego vñe aluc uenew pendi
nent & idē meum Chay comedens tñt. De. ito Cuna. Cathel
lano. Hugo. de morumia. Egu. de Calveria. Hug. bironi.
De alto fit nam. Al. vmo qñ Archil. Qñ tñt omogal
Dunuald ffr suo. Ap. Cadilhou.

¶

¶. Vñ. Di gra. Rex fcor. Justice sue. Vñ. Bawm; & omib; nñt;
suis totum Cumberlādie hāte haad me veditte & concessisse
Co & eccie ja kenceg'm de clasp. Etanū denatū de dñi
placat tñt p totam Cumberiam. qñ placatūnt aut i de
nauis aut pauma volo mda; & firmis pcpio ut pda ecclia
homo suam pte nā libe & quiete & honorifice teneat in ppe
cua. sic etā libit & quietus p van & tñt. Tñt. De. ito Cu
rano. Cancellano. Egu. de Calveria. Hug. bironi. De. alto
fit nam. Qñ fit Dunegat. Dunuald. ffr suo. Al. vmo.
qñ Archil. Ap. Cadilhou.

De Caturda
naro de pqui
frip dñi regis
epo glasp. &
casso.

¶. Vñ. Di gra. Rex fcor. Omib; ffr eccie fñt; hāte haad
me veditte & concessisse Eccie ja kenceg'm de clasp & epa
cui cūct eccie. Cuncy. ann tñt vñtū solucam & quereit
ppetuo. i. dñm possidendam sic alu etā libit & quietus p
van. Tñt. Henrico fit Regi. & dcedente Robro Ep
Cantuar. albe Dunfmelecano. libro albe de Ro
chaburo. Qñ de bñt. Rob. de vñtūmilla. Hug. de morumia
libro Caneet. Cospat ffr Dalfay. Cūmichel. Vñet alio. Al.
vmo kenne.

Cunam

¶

¶. Th. Rex fcor. Cunctis fñt; ffr. hñ & vñtūl Cathie mñt
eccie filit Bat. Qñ dñt placat & pñtū me in ppeciam ele
mosinam vñtū & hac mea carta cōfirmasse Deo & eccie
ja kenceg'm. & Engelano Ep Clasp. & eius successorib;
Eclud p ffr vñtūl ffr. cum omib; suis pñtūl ffr. p
salute mñ & p lāte dñm de Comat hñt. pñt nñ & Regi

De Conclud.

✓

De Burgo de
glasg.

Der Fund
m. 9. 10.
glasse.

et Cum omnib; libertatib; aliquib; fundimus i tota cia nra con-
 cessit. et Cu omnib; libertatib; ad fundinas pauerit. Ita libe-
 Quere. Pleuare et honorifice sic alia fundine i alia Burgou
 meoy libus amant plenul et honorificentul tenant aut totu
 debent. Tunc Joh Dinkeldi epō. Hug cancell mō. Arch Albe
 de Duntmet. O Albe de ketch. Come Duncan. Rolt fit de
 dr. G. illo de ludele. Wale Corbet. G. illo Emu. Rob fit de
 nebur. Merto Vicecom. de Struet. Henr de ghay. Henr de Co-
 manoe. Ap Edburc.

Sciant presentes et futuri qd tunc est concordia et compositio de
 consensu et iudicio me Joal Epus Glasguen. et Rog de Vallon-
 sup donatorem ecclesie de kellebride. s. qd Rog amerciam clamauit
 donatorem pōte ecclesie pōt Joal. Glasguen Epō. et suis successo-
 rib; in ppetuum. cum una carucata terre. et omnium parauit. et
 omnib; aliis amerciam parrochie nostre pauerit ad eandem ecclesiam.
 Et renuntiauit iuri qd dicebat se in ipsa hūe qd recognouerunt
 pbatum fuit in presencia dñi regis ap lanar p legatos ecclesie
 donatorem pōt ecclesie de kellebride amerciam pauerit. et debe-
 re paueri ad ecclesiam de Glasgu. et epm Glasguen. Et qd Joh epus
 Glasguen. et successores sui libe et in alia condōe ut reclamante
 dedunt ipsam ecclesiam. pūctat dñctus Joal Glasguen epus co-
 cessit supdō Rog hū capellam et capllamū pūm in castel-
 lo suo de kellebride. qui capllanus ex ipso Rog et suis curialib;
 et hospitib; oblonet tū papiet. Ita qd siquis de familia sua
 auera hūit. ut catellat ut bladum. ut aliq alia. tū de
 eame pñari debeant infra parrochiam de kellebride. ipsi
 decimas pfoluet mātā ecclesie. et omnia alia nra ecclesiastica.
 pō pñat oblonet tantum. Et id Rog nota inueniet capllō
 suo. Ita qd neq ipse capllanus. neq pñat Rog ad sustinendū
 ipsius capllū quicq; eriger. de mūto ecclesia. ut de p ipius ecclesie.
 Hūc test. Dñs regis. Com conspāto. Rob capll. Hug clero.
 Ric de morunt. Const. Rog. Alano capllō regis. Philipp de
 Vallon. Adam fit Gilebr. de alio de kerkelap. Cam & gis.

De ecclesia de
 Billebude.

stated that Glasgow was created a royal burgh by William the Lion. Technically this was wrong, because in strict language a royal burgh must be held direct of the sovereign, while in the case of Glasgow the bishop intervened. But in a wider sense the statement was substantially correct. Some of the more recent historians who criticised M'Ure's verbal inaccuracy went to the opposite extreme, and, reasoning from the name while overlooking the substance, represented Glasgow as an ordinary burgh of barony, with its citizens dependent on the pleasure of the bishop as their overlord. In actual experience, and by virtue of its earliest charters, Glasgow had trading rights, home and foreign, as full as any enjoyed by a royal burgh. It held its own courts, admitted its burgesses, and conducted its municipal administration, all in accordance with the ordinary procedure of a royal burgh. Only in the election of the magistracy was there a peculiarity. The bishop chose the bailies, but this could only be done from a leet presented by the burgesses or the town council, so that the election in the first instance came from the citizens. With regard to the provost, an official who at a comparatively late period was added to the town council of Glasgow, the bishop had a freer hand, as the original nomination was left to himself. But even after the bishop's selection of the bailies and nomination of the provost, the commissions both to provosts and bailies were issued by the town council.

John Gibson, who published his *History of Glasgow* in 1777, makes more abundant use of transcripts obtained from Paris than M'Ure did, and he also broke new ground by giving a few extracts from the city's own records. Here attention is arrested by quotations from a council record prior in date to the earliest of the records now preserved in the city's archives. Embracing the period immediately preceding and succeeding the national change from the old to the new faith, the missing volume must have contained much of vital importance in

telling the story of such a city as Glasgow, whose civic and ecclesiastical affairs were so closely intermingled. Gibson's meagre extracts, which may after all have been taken, not from the original record, but from transcripts, do not conclusively prove that the volume was really in existence in his day, and therefore the discredit of its loss must not without further proof attach to the record custodiers subsequent to that time.

Glasgow's episcopal registers and writs, so full of information about localities throughout the diocese, were largely used by George Chalmers in his *Caledonia*, published in 1807-24. By this time the original documents had passed through serious risk of destruction during the French Revolution. Part of the writs had been brought to this country by the Abbé Macpherson, rector of the Scots College at Rome, and Chalmers himself, who was always on the outlook for manuscripts of historical value, obtained the custody of some of these. Other writs and registers came into the hands of Bishop Cameron of Edinburgh, but suspicions are entertained that several bundles traced to St. Omers, in France, were never returned to this country.

In 1832 the Maitland Club, by the issue of a volume of selections from town council and burgh court records (1573-80) took the first effective step for having the local manuscript collections made readily accessible for historical purposes; and, through newspaper enterprise, this publication was shortly afterwards followed by a supplementary series of extracts (1588-1750), now known in their republished form as *Memorabilia*. Then came, in 1843, the Maitland Club's issue of *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*, a most important work, containing a print of the ancient register and of all charters relating to the bishopric and the cathedral from the earliest times till the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1846 the Club issued to its members *Liber Collegii Nostre Domine* and *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum de Glasgu*, being collections

of documents relating to (1) the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne (1516-49), and (2) the Place of the Friars Preachers in Glasgow (1249-1559); with selections from miscellaneous writs preserved in the University's archives. The University's own muniments, including such of the writs relating to that institution as had already appeared in print, were issued by the Maitland Club in 1854.

Besides the documents comprehended in these publications there had been returned from Paris two MS. volumes relating to the diocese, one consisting of the Protocols of Cuthbert Simson, clerk of the Cathedral Chapter (1499-1513), and the other the Rental Book kept by the archbishops (1509-70). The publication of these manuscripts, under the title *Diocesan Registers*, was undertaken by the Grampian Club in 1875. Little was known either of the Protocols or the Rental Book before their publication, but each has its peculiar value in providing minute and interesting particulars regarding the city and barony before the dates when the existing council records and town clerks' protocols commence.

Beyond what had been accomplished, about forty years previously, no progress was made in the publication of municipal records till, in the year 1876, the late Sir James Marwick, through the medium of the Scottish Burgh Records Society, began the publication of the city's charters and records. Latterly continued and completed to the year 1833, under the authority of the Town Council, this series extends to fourteen bulky volumes, and the valuable information thereby provided for the local historian has been supplemented by eleven thin quartos, embracing the protocols of the town clerks of Glasgow, so far as preserved, between the years 1530 and 1600.

From time to time portions of the large accumulation of historical material here enumerated have been utilised in narrative form, notably by Sir James Marwick in his Historical

Introduction to the first volume of *Glasgow Charters* and in his *Early Glasgow*, but it is generally recognised that the time has come for the history of the city being presented on a more comprehensive scale than has hitherto been attempted.

After finishing, in 1916, the editorial work entrusted to me by the Town Council eight years previously, it was not my intention to undertake anything further in connection with the city's history beyond the issue of (1) a few papers supplementary to *Glasgow Memorials*, and (2) a revised and enlarged edition of *Historical Glasgow*, originally compiled as part of a handbook on the occasion of the British Association's visit to Glasgow in 1901. Unexpectedly, however, suggestions came to me from various quarters which led to reconsideration of that limited design. In the course of an appreciative notice of the completed charters and records, which appeared in the *Scottish Historical Review*, I was urged to undertake the compilation of a history of the city. Approval of that step came both from individuals and from some of the public journals, the Council of the Glasgow Archaeological Society concurred, and Glasgow Town Council formally invited me to proceed with the work. Perhaps too easily persuaded to enter on so congenial a task, and not sufficiently realising the difficulties which lie in the way, many of which can only be partially overcome, I have ventured thus far, and the first instalment of the new history of Glasgow is now submitted to the public.

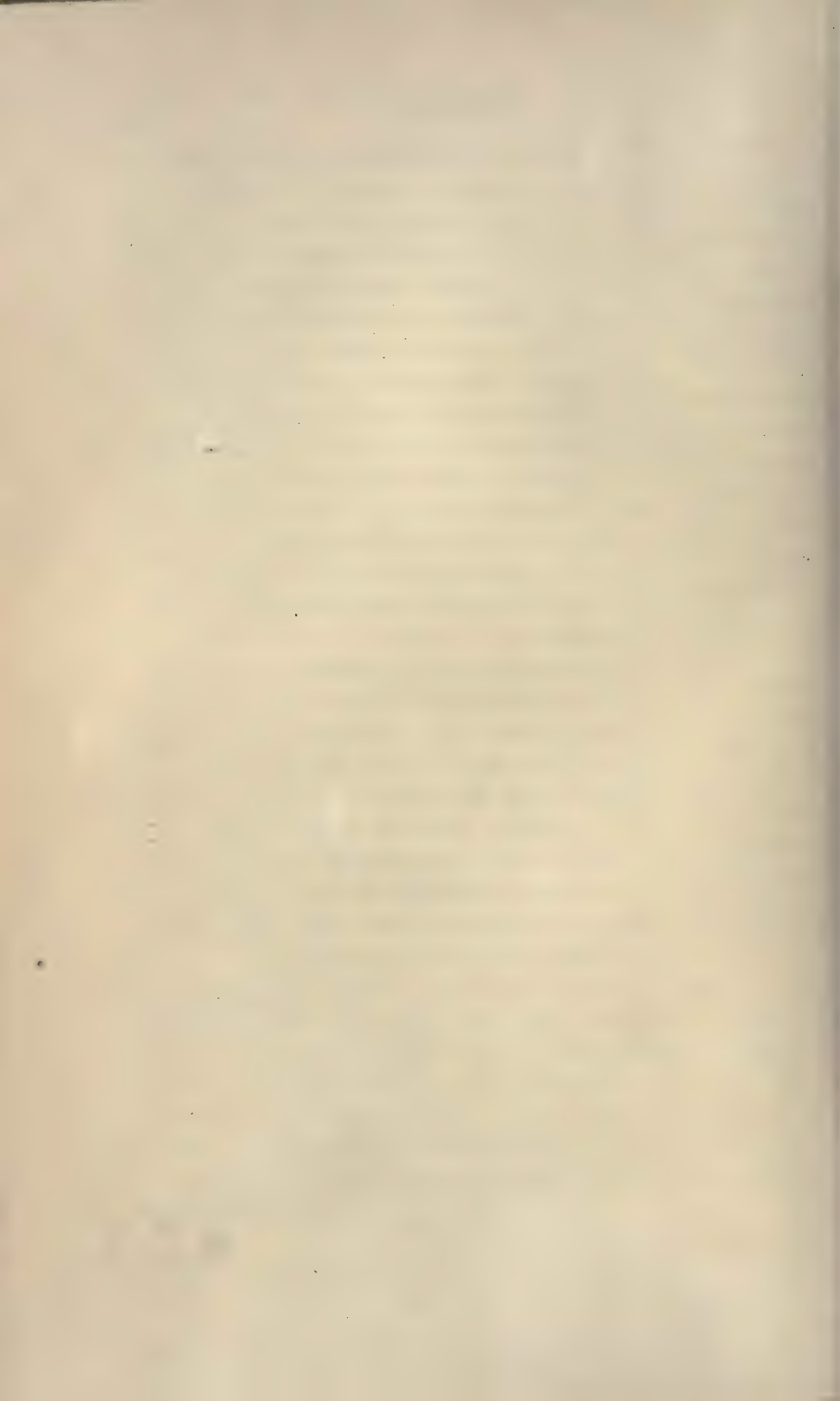
That the Town Council should have extended to the present scheme the generous support which they gave to the publication of their charters and records is highly gratifying, alike to author and publishers; and in this connection grateful acknowledgment is due to Sir John Lindsay, Town Clerk, for the interest manifested by him in the progress of the work, and for his cordial co-operation in facilitating the needful business arrangements.

Surviving all its many hazards by land and sea, in this country and abroad, the ancient register of the bishopric, known as *Registrum Vetus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Glasguensis*, is now safely deposited in St. Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeenshire; and through the courtesy of the Right Rev. James M'Gregor, Rector of the College, facilities were readily afforded for photographing the four pages here reproduced in facsimile. All the documents in the register are printed in *Registrum Episcopatus*, but it is interesting to have a specimen of the original manuscript, penned, it is thought, in the twelfth century. The photographed pages begin with the last two lines of Earl David's *Inquisitio* (the whole of the lithographed MS. of which is given in the published *Registrum*), and also contain the foundation charter of the burgh of Glasgow, the charter instituting Glasgow Fair, and other documents specified in the List of Illustrations.

As will be seen from quotations and footnotes, I have freely availed myself of the researches and opinions of other writers; and to several personal friends I am indebted for information and advice. Very specially have I to express my obligations to Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., for invaluable assistance. Not only was Dr. Neilson always ready to confer with me on preliminary points, but he also, in renewal of similar favours rendered on previous occasions, took the trouble to read over all the proof sheets of the present volume and to give me the benefit of his wise counsel and serviceable suggestions.

R. RENWICK.

GLASGOW, *December*, 1919.



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HISTORY OF GLASGOW

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC CONDITION OF GLASGOW AREA—SITES OF EARLY DWELLINGS

By a gradation of ancient sea beaches which can be traced along the Clyde valley in the vicinity of Glasgow, the occurrence of successive upheavals of the land is fully established, and it is obvious that during some part of the remote period immediately preceding the last of these elevations the estuary of the Clyde at Glasgow was several miles wide, covering not only the lower districts of the city but extending to the base of the Cathcart and Cathkin Hills, and probably receiving the waters of the river not far from Bothwell. That this district was then inhabited by man seems to be placed beyond reasonable doubt by the discovery of canoes in the Trongate and other localities far above the present level of the river, but all of them covered by strata of transported sand and gravel.

One canoe was unearthed in 1780, when excavations were being made for the foundation of St. Enoch's Church ; another was found at the Cross, when similar preparations were in progress for the erection of the Tontine buildings ; one was got in Stockwell Street, near the present railway crossing ; and another was dug up on the slope of the Drygate. All these canoes were formed of single oak trees roughly scooped out, fire having been employed to burn out the interior, and were

altogether of the most primitive kind of construction,¹ a description which likewise applies to a number of other canoes that were found on the lands of Springfield and Clydehaugh on the south side of the Clyde. These latter canoes, discovered during operations for the widening of the harbour between 1847 and 1849, seem to have been deposited at a much later period than those found in higher ground. No change in the relative positions of land and sea had apparently taken place between the time when they were swamped or settled down in the channel of the river till they were again exposed to the light of day. The St. Enoch's Square canoe was 24 feet below the surface, and there was found within it a polished stone hatchet or celt, one of the instruments which may have been used in its construction, though it seems as much adapted for war as for any peaceful art.²

During long ages which succeeded the final settlement of sea and land level, the Clyde, running through a tract of

¹ A fifth canoe, discovered in 1825 when opening a sewer in London Street, was built of several pieces of oak, and exhibited unusual evidences of labour and ingenuity (Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 35).

² *Ibid.* A sketch of the celt, given by Mr. Wilson, is here reproduced. All the canoes discovered in the higher grounds on the north side of the river were destroyed, and no sketch of their appearance or record of their dimensions has been preserved. Representations of two of the canoes found at Clydehaugh, as shown in *Scottish History and Life*, are here reproduced: No. 1 measured 14 feet in length, 4 feet 1 inch in breadth, and 1 foot 11 inches deep; No. 2 was 10 feet long, 3 feet 2 inches broad, and 1 foot deep.

For fuller information and interesting speculation on the prehistoric subjects alluded to in the text reference may be made to *Ancient Sea Margins*, by Dr. R. Chambers, pp. 203-9; Daniel Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, pp. 34-37; Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow* (1880), pp. 248-62; John Buchanan's narrative in *Glasgow: Past and Present* (1856), iii. pp. 555-79; *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 1st Series, I. pp. 288-90; II. pp. 121-30. In the last of these Archaeological Society's papers Mr. J. Dalrymple Duncan gives an account of the discovery at Point Isle in 1880 of a canoe which crumbled to pieces in the hands of those who attempted its removal.



CANOES FOUND AT SPRINGFIELD, 1847.



country with no proper river channel, must have been continually changing its course, and in the tidal area, specially, not only the bed of each changing channel, but likewise the land on either side would by silting process be gradually raised. But the bulk of the sediment would collect wherever the water had its course for the time, and so soon as the accumulation became higher than the adjoining ground, the former channel would be deserted and a new one chosen. Many of these river variations can still be identified, and it is believed that such a change is sufficient to account for the Springfield canoes being found seven feet below the natural bed level of the river and one hundred yards to the southward of its bank, as these existed before the artificial deepening which was commenced in 1758 and the widening carried through by the Clyde Trustees in 1847. Such flooding effects and silting process are also regarded as sufficient to account for the covering by stratified sand of the beautiful Roman bowl of Samian ware which, in 1876, was discovered in the Green, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface.

It was not till comparatively modern times that the river, in its passage through that part of the valley which is now city territory, permanently settled into its present course, and even after embankment, deepening and other artificial operations and appliances were adopted, the lower lying grounds, such as Glasgow Green and the Broomielaw area, were subject to ever recurring floods, which kept them to a large extent in a more or less swampy condition. The havoc caused to grain crops by such floods would not often be turned to so providential a purpose as on the occasion when the scornful king's barns with their stores of wheat were carried away by the river and deposited on the banks of the Molendinar to feed the brethren of St. Kentigern's monastery.³ Nor would many floods be so disastrous as that of 1454,

³ St. Kentigern (*Scottish Historians*), pp. 69, 70.

described by one of our chroniclers as "ane richt greit spait in Clyde, the xxv and xxvj days of November, the quhilk brocht doun haile houssis, bernis and millis, and put all the town of Govane in ane flote quhill thai sat on the houssis." ⁴

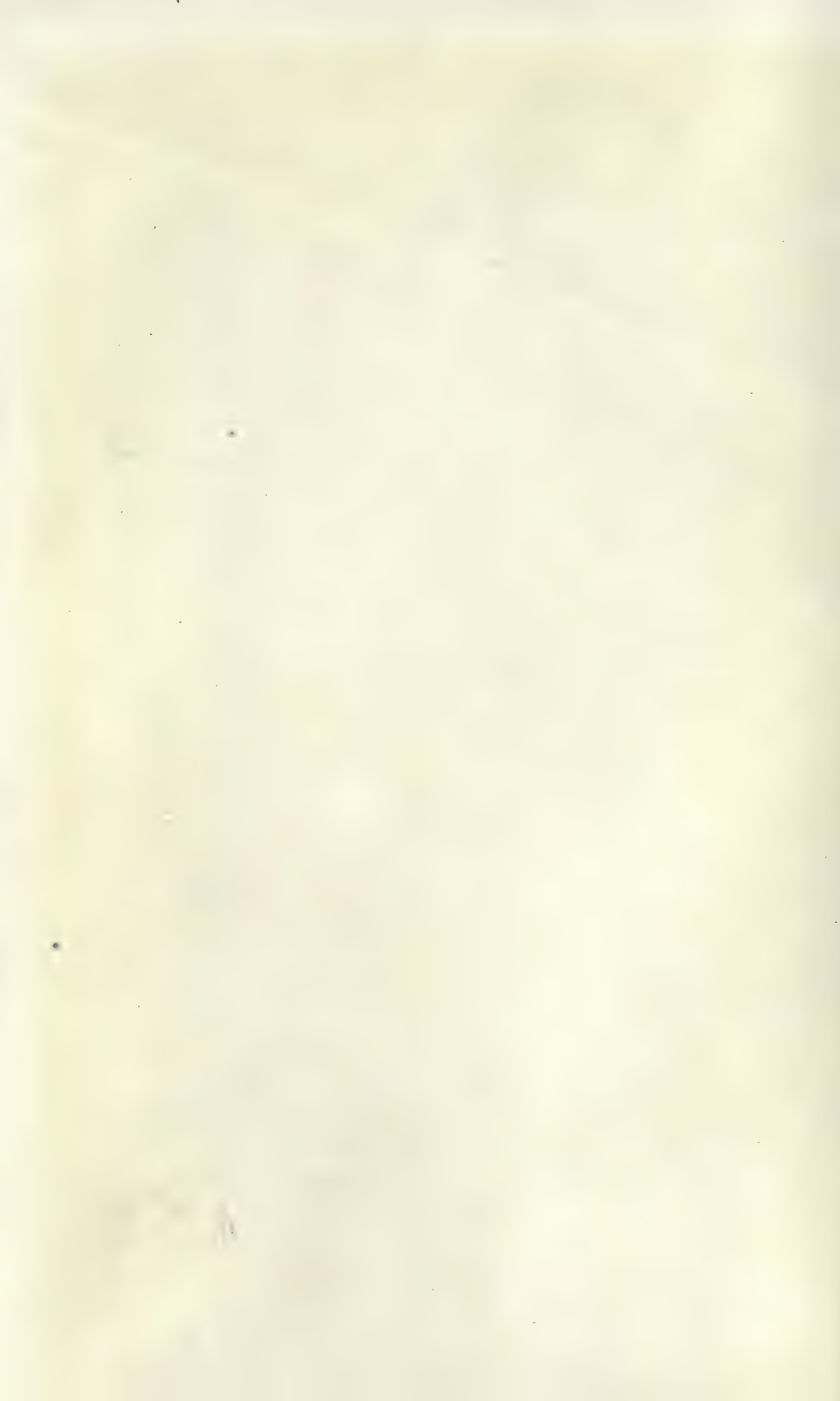
But apart from such extreme occurrences the floods experienced so recently as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as described by personal observers, were so serious that one may conceive how little inducement there was for the early inhabitants to plant their habitations near the river before a way was discovered for keeping it within reasonable bounds. If, therefore, the banks of the Molendinar were inhabited by man in these prehistoric times, his dwellings must have occupied the higher grounds, and it is significant that in the earliest account we have of the comparatively modern days of St. Kentigern it is that part of the city which is referred to. Joceline, the biographer of St. Kentigern, writing in the twelfth century makes mention of a cemetery which had been "long before" consecrated by St. Ninian, and this ancient cemetery was evidently identified as having occupied the site of the Cathedral and its adjoining burying ground.

Cathures, which Joceline gives as the former name of Glasgu, is understood to bear the interpretation of a fort or encampment, and may well have been applied to the site of those dwellings placed on the higher grounds, between the Molendinar and Glasgow Burns, and occupied by a primitive community which had probably grown up and prospered under the protection of some powerful chief. In later times this district, traversed by an old Roman road and including the inhabited area bearing the archaic designation of Ratounraw, was possessed by rentallers who were subject to a special bailliary jurisdiction of unknown origin. Early churches were often planted in such places, and there, as a general rule, is

⁴ *Ane Schort Memoriale of the Scottis Corniklis* (Auchinlek MS.), p. 18.



PREHISTORIC IMPLEMENTS.



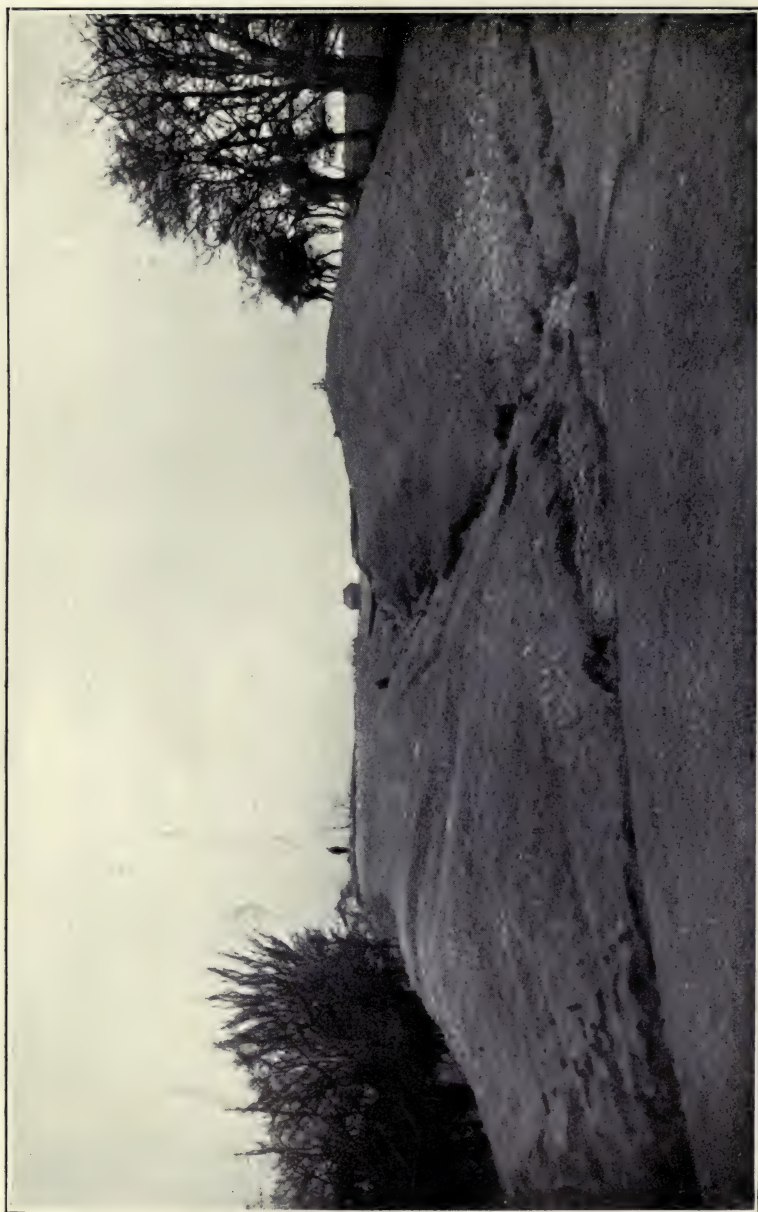
to be found the nucleus of the village, the town and the city.

With the coming of St. Kentigern the real beginning of Glasgow as a city has always been associated, and notwithstanding irregularities in progress and the untoward vicissitudes of the intervening centuries, it may safely be assumed that by the time we have the benefit of the few fragments of twelfth century writings which are still extant, inhabited dwellings had begun to spread over the lower grounds near the margin of the river. Keeping within the bounds of the two streamlets, the Molendinar on the east and Glasgow Burn on the west, the banks of the former seem to have attracted the bulk of the earlier settlers, but rentallers of croft land lying along the foot of Glasgow Burn are also traced, and here, according to ancient tradition, were laid the earthly remains of St. Kentigern's mother on the spot where the chapel bearing her name was reared. The ruins of St. Tenew's Chapel were still in evidence till well on in the eighteenth century, and though the circumstances connected with its foundation must remain in obscurity, seeing that any accounts we have of St. Mungo's birth and parentage are mainly legendary fable and that we have little or no reliable information on his domestic affairs, there seems to be no inherent improbability in the substantial correctness of the traditional story. Another chapel, likewise of unknown antiquity, was planted in the more populous district just referred to, and was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN PERIOD AND AFTER

UNAFFECTED alike by Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain and by the conquests accomplished during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, about a hundred years later, the northern parts of the island were for a long time protected by their inaccessibility, and it was not till the seventy-ninth year of the Christian era that the Roman legions entered territory north of the Solway. In the summer of the previous year Julius Agricola arrived to take on hand the government of Britain, and his plans for the subjugation of the northern tribes were so successfully carried through that in the course of his third summer campaign he had proceeded from Annandale to the strath of the River Clyde, through Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire, and into the vale of Strathern. The country thus acquired was secured by the formation of roads and the erection of forts, and in the year 81, Agricola, entering upon a work of special importance to the Glasgow district, constructed a line of fortifications along the narrow neck of land between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Beyond this barrier operations against the northern tribes were conducted for the ensuing five years, and were successfully terminated in the great battle of "Mons Graupius," fought in the year 86. But the territory thus temporarily added to the Roman province remained in that position for so short a time that the effect on the inhabitants was probably of little account. Agricola



THE ROMAN WALL AT HILLFOOT, 1911.



was speedily recalled from the scene of his military triumphs, and after his departure and on till the visit of the Emperor Hadrian, about the year 122, we have little knowledge of what happened in Britain, but the fact that the rampart then constructed between the Solway Firth and the River Tyne was fixed as the limit of the Roman province indicates that the former subjugation of the northern tribes had secured no permanent advantage.

One result of the movements of the Roman soldiers and sailors during Agricola's campaigns has been of lasting interest, inasmuch as their observations and reports supplied the bulk of the information obtained by the geographer, Ptolemy, regarding the number and position of the Caledonian tribes, their names, the situation of their towns, and the leading geographical features of the country. From Ptolemy's maps and descriptions it is learned that the modern Strathclyde was included in the great nation of the Damnonii, which extended as far north as the River Tay. South of the Firths of Forth and Clyde the Damnonii possessed the territories now forming the counties of Ayr, Lanark and Renfrew, and north of these estuaries the counties of Stirling and Dumbarton with adjoining districts. In the southern of these two groups were three towns : Colonia, near the source of the Clyde ; Coria, supposed to be near Carstairs, where are numerous Roman remains ;¹ and the third Vandogara or Vanduara, at one time claimed for Paisley, but now believed to have been situated at Loudon Hill in Ayrshire. Coria was on the main Roman highway which passed from the south into Clydesdale, and, besides the westward branch road breaking off from that point into Ayrshire, it is not improbable that the main line was there joined by an eastward branch leading to and from Tweeddale and

¹ One of the marches of the burgh of Lanark's lands in this quarter was called Watling Street in a charter dated 20th February, 1632 (*Lanark Records*, p. 324).

passing the large camp at Lyne,² a view which is supported by the fact that in later times this was the line of highway from Glasgow to towns in the Tweed valley.

Recurring to the main road down the Clyde valley, it is shown on the map in Chalmers' *Caledonia* as divided into two sections a few miles below Carstairs, a northern branch going off in the direction of Falkirk, while the western portion goes on to Kilpatrick, taking Glasgow in its way. For the offshoot shown near the River Calder and leading to the supposed "Vanduar" or Paisley, it is now considered there was not sufficient authority. But with regard to the western and northern roads, one leading to the west end and the other to the east end of the Antonine Wall, the map may be accepted as sufficiently correct.

The wall just referred to, placed on the line of Agricola's forts between the Forth and Clyde, was constructed about the year 142, by which time the frontier of the Roman province had again been advanced thus far beyond the limits established by Hadrian, but though the area within the wall, amid many harassing interruptions, was at one time believed to remain as part of the province till the Romans finally left the island in 410, it seems to be fairly well established that, early in the reign of the Emperor Commodus (180-92), the Romans finally abandoned the whole country north of the Cheviots and Solway. One of the most serious invasions which the retained province had to endure was organized by Picts from the north and Scots from the west, in 360, and in the course of the next eight years part of the district south of Hadrian's Wall seems to have been in possession of the invaders, but in 369 they were expelled by the eminent Roman commander, Theodosius, who renewed the

² In the excavations made here by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1901 (*Proceedings*, vol. 35, pp. 154-86) two coins were found, one of Titus, A.D. 79, and the other of Trajan, A.D. 104-10.

stations along the wall, and effectively protected the province against further interference for the time.³

In consequence of the Roman occupation of the country being of so short duration, the influence of their civilization on the inhabitants of the district where Glasgow is now situated was probably slight, but we have really no definite knowledge of their condition at that time. So far as physical appearances go, there is little existing evidence of Clydesdale having passed through such an experience. Isolated portions of the wall, not far from the city, can, however, still be pointed out, and inscribed stones taken from the original earthworks are preserved ;⁴ some of the thoroughfares of the city seem to be identified with the line of the Roman highway, and coins and other Roman relics have been discovered. In 1876 a Roman bowl of Samian ware was unearthed on the Green,⁵ and in the course of some digging operations, carried out in 1867 at Yorkhill, near the east bank of the River Kelvin, opposite to Partick, some Roman coins, fragments of broken

³ For an account of the Antonine Wall, see full Report on the subject by the Glasgow Archæological Society, issued in 1899. Reference may also be made to Stuart's *Caledonia Romana* (1845) with its excellent illustrations.

The results of the more recent investigations are fully described in Curle's *Roman Frontier Post and its People* (1911) and Macdonald's *Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911).

⁴ There is now preserved in the Hunterian Museum at the University a fine collection of inscribed stones and other Roman remains, illustrative of the nature of the Roman occupation in this part of the country. See Dr. James Macdonald's *Tituli Hunteriani: An Account of the Roman Stones in the Hunterian Museum* (1897): also Dr. George Macdonald's *Roman Wall in Scotland* (1911).

In *Glasgow: Past and Present*, published in 1856, p. 663, John Buchanan says: "Coins of the Romans have been found in the vicinity of the Cathedral, especially those of the warlike Hadrian, and of Crispina, wife of Commodus, the degenerate son of Marcus Aurelius, some of which are in my possession."

The edition of *Past and Present* referred to throughout the present volume is that of 1851-6. In David Robertson's edition of 1884 the contents are made readily accessible by its complete Index.

⁵ MacGeorge's *Old Glasgow*, pp. 249, 253; *Catalogue of Glasgow Exhibition*, 1901, No. 200; *Scottish History and Life* (1902), p. 33, from which work the illustration here given is reproduced.

vessels and a small quantity of wheat were found. One of the coins bore the image of the Emperor Trajan, who reigned A.D. 98-117.⁶

It is generally believed that at least as early as the second century the Christian religion had made its way into Britain under Roman auspices, and that a Christian church had been established within the province, but it is not till the closing years of the Roman occupation that we have specific information regarding the spread of the faith in the northern districts. Towards the end of the fourth century Ninian, a native of Britain, was trained at Rome in the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church, and, having been ordained a bishop, was sent on an evangelizing mission to the western parts of his own country. On his way thither he visited the famous St. Martin at Tours, in Gaul, and having obtained masons who accompanied him to Whithorn, he there, about the year 397, built that church of white stone, which is best known by its Latin name of Candida Casa. From his headquarters thus established Ninian went on a mission to the people whom Bede, writing two centuries later, designates the Southern Picts, and as a result of his efforts they abandoned their idolatrous worship and received the true faith. It has been maintained, on grounds which need not be repeated here, that Ninian's missionary labours extended over the whole eastern seaboard of Scotland, but it is sufficient for present purposes to point out that in any case Glasgow lay in the route which he would be likely to take both in going and returning,⁷ and whether in pursuit of his mission, or resting from his labours, it is probable that he took the opportunity of making there a sojourn of some duration. Indeed, so much

⁶ *Catalogues of Glasgow Exhibitions* (1888), Nos. 85-92; (1901), Nos. 203-10; also Taylor's *Partick* (1902), pp. 2, 3.

⁷ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 1, 2; *St. Ninian*, pp. 1-15; *S. Ninian* by Archibald B. Scott (1916).



BOWL OF SAMIAN WARE UNEARTHED IN GLASGOW GREEN.



is implied by the statement in Joceline's *Life of St. Kentigern* that it was Ninian who had consecrated the cemetery where Fergus was laid, procedure likely to be entered into only by one who had more attachment to the place than could be expected of an occasional visitor.⁸

Another apostle of the Christian faith, the son of a magistrate in a provincial town, comes into notice just about the time that Ninian finished his course. By his own account Patrick's birthplace was "the village of Bannavem of Tabernia," a district not identified, though it is likely to have been on the south-west border of Scotland, seeing it was exposed to the incursions of the Scots. The honour of being Patrick's birthplace has been claimed for Old Kilpatrick, a village situated about eleven miles west of Glasgow and five miles east of Dumbarton, and also for Dumbarton itself, the ancient Alclud, but any information we have on the subject is too vague for more than mere conjecture.⁹ Patrick dwelt at "Bannavem" till his sixteenth year, when he was taken captive and brought to Ireland with many others. Employed in tending sheep, he remained six years in slavery, and then effected his escape in a ship which was crossing to his own

⁸ According to Dempster, who cites authorities in his *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, edition 1829, vol. ii. p. 502, St. Ninian had an exceptional place in the ritual of Glasgow Cathedral.

⁹ The writer of the *Old Statistical Account of the Parish of Old Kilpatrick* says: "there are many circumstances favouring this tradition," such as there being an ancient stone in the churchyard bearing a figure supposed to represent St. Patrick; and in the River Clyde, opposite to the church, there was a large stone or rock, visible at low water, called St. Patrick's Stone.

The chapel of Dumbarton Castle is mentioned in 1271. It was dedicated to St. Patrick; and on 23rd March, 1390-1, King Robert III., referring to grants to the chapel, by previous sovereigns, of eight merks yearly furth of the burgh farms of Dumbarton, added two merks yearly from the same source, the latter gift being for the weal of the souls of himself and of Annabella, his consort (*Origines Parochiales*, vol. i. p. 24; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. No. 802). One of the burgh fairs sanctioned by royal charter dated 13th December, 1609, was held on St. Patrick's Day (17th March) and continued for four days (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* vii. No. 190).

country. After living with his parents in the Roman province for a few years, he returned to Ireland as a missionary, and preached the gospel to the people for the next fifteen or twenty years, at the expiry of which time he was consecrated a bishop. Patrick's episcopate was crowned with success and seems to have lasted till the latter half of the fifth century. In his own writings we are told that through his ministry clerics had been ordained for the people, and that "those who never had the knowledge of God and had hitherto only worshipped unclean idols have lately become the people of the Lord."

A mass of legendary lore has gathered round the names of Ninian and Patrick and the evangelistic work carried on by them and their disciples, but into the speculations thereby raised it is unnecessary to enter here. It is enough for the present purpose to have called attention to such accounts as seem to be historical regarding the work of these two famous men, seeing Glasgow, or at least its vicinity, can reasonably claim some connection with each.

For a century and a half after the withdrawal of the Romans we have scarcely any contemporary information as to what was happening in this country, but about the end of the sixth century, when our knowledge becomes less obscure, four separate nations are found in possession. The Picts, divided into northern and southern sections, still maintained their hold in the parts north of the Forth, except perhaps where they had been displaced by the Scots from Ireland, who were then established in Dalriada and the western isles. Anglian or Saxon settlers occupied the east coast from the Forth to the Tweed and beyond; and the remaining people consisted of the Britons, who possessed what was left of the old Roman province, including Strathclyde, with its chief seat at Alclud or Dumbarton, and with territory extending as far south as the River Derwent in Cumberland.

CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF ST. KENTIGERN

APART from the fabulous accretions which obscure the narrative, it may be that Kentigern's biographers were warranted in tracing his parentage from Thaney or Tenew, daughter of the "half-pagan" Loth who ruled the Lothian province "in Northern Britannia." Culross, likewise, may have been his birthplace, but the further statement that he received his education and training at the hands of St. Servanus is an obvious anachronism. Servanus, in the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century, was associated with the establishment of religious communities such as those which, by a similar anachronism, are attributed to Kentigern's agency, and it has been suggested that in this way the names of these two apostles of Christianity have been linked together, notwithstanding the divergence of their labours in point of time.¹

In an early chapter of the *Life* Joceline states that the name, which in the language of the country was originally "Munghu," meant in Latin *carus amicus*—dear or beloved one—and that subsequently Servanus had named him Kentigern, which was interpreted the head lord. Joceline then tells that St. Kentigern, to escape the malice of his fellow students, took his departure from Culross and in the course of his journey lodged at Kernack in the house of a holy man, Fregus or Fergus, who died on the night of his arrival. Next morning

¹ Skene, ii. 260.

the body was placed on a wain to which two untamed bulls were yoked and enjoined to carry their burden to the place which the Lord had provided for it. The bulls, in no way disobeying the voice of Kentigern, who along with many others accompanied them, came by a straight road as far as Cathures, "which is now called Glasgu," and halted at a cemetery which had long before been consecrated by St. Ninian. There the body of Fergus was placed in a tomb which in Joceline's day was "encircled by a delicious density of overshadowing trees, in witness of the sanctity and the reverence due to him who is buried there."² At a later date the south transept of the Cathedral was erected over what was supposed to be the spot of interment, and the lower aisle or crypt was dedicated to Fergus. On a stone in the roof over the entrance a representation of the saint extended on the car is carved, along with the inscription "This is the Ile of Car Fergus"; but the completion of the aisle belongs to the closing period in the building of the cathedral.

The reference to St. Ninian's connection with Glasgow is consistent with the information supplied by the Venerable Bede, who states that Ninian successfully undertook the evangelization of the Southern Picts, whose territory was situated beyond the Forth. Glasgow was thus in the route of the founder of Candida Casa, on his northern mission, and it is more than likely that he made converts among the Strathclyde Britons, including those in the Glasgow district from whom he apparently had a grant of ground for a cemetery. Trained at Rome in the doctrine and discipline of the Western Church he was among the earliest of the Christian missionaries to this country, and the churches, chapels and altarages dedicated to him are numerous.³ An altarage in Glasgow Cathedral and the Leper Hospital and Chapel in Gorbals were dedicated to St. Ninian. The period of his activity in Scotland

² *St. Kentigern*, p. 52.

³ *St. Ninian*, pp. xlv, xliii-xvii.

dates from the year 397, when he founded the church at Whit-horn, in a district which then formed part of the Roman province and whose inhabitants were provincial Britons, and it is believed he lived about twenty years after the Romans finally left Britain.

If Joceline's allusions to St. Ninian are historically correct the influence of his teaching seems to have been altogether extinct in Glasgow. We are told that, at the time of Kentigern's arrival and after some manifestation of the new evangelist's many miraculous gifts, the king and clergy of the Cambrian region, with other Christians "albeit they were few in number," consulted what was to be done to restore the good estate of the Church, which was well-nigh destroyed, and thereupon they elected St. Kentigern to be the shepherd and bishop of their souls, and he was duly consecrated by a bishop brought from Ireland for the purpose.⁴ Though the narrative is tinged with the experiences of twelfth century ceremonial it may have a solid enough foundation in fact. Joceline states the means adopted by him for procuring information for his theme. He wandered through the streets and lanes of the city—a phrase, implying no more, perhaps, than that he had made a diligent inquiry in all likely quarters—seeking the recorded life of St. Kentigern, and in addition to an already known biography, "stained throughout by an uncultivated diction," he had found another little volume "written in the Scotie dialect," filled from end to end with solecisms, but containing at greater length the life and acts of the holy bishop.⁵ From such sources Joceline put together the matter collected, "seasoning with Roman salt what had been composed in a barbarous way," or, in other words, transforming the uncouth language into elegant diction. The "already known biography" is supposed to have been that compiled by an unknown ecclesiastic in the time of Bishop Herbert (1147-64).

⁴ *St. Kentigern*, p. 54.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 29, 30.

About the "little volume" nothing is known, but it may have been from that work that particulars regarding the bishop's personal appearance and dress were obtained. He is said to have been of middle stature, rather inclining to tallness, he was of robust strength, capable of enduring great fatigue, beautiful to look upon and graceful in form. His outward cheerfulness was the sign of that inward peace which flooded all things with holy joy and exultation, and fleeing from hypocrisy, he carefully taught his followers to avoid it. With regard to dress "he used the roughest hair-cloth next the skin, then a garment of leather made of the skin of the goats, then a cowl like a fisherman's bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. He bore a pastoral staff, not rounded and gilded and gemmed, as may be seen nowadays, but of simple wood and merely bent. He had in his hand the Manual-book, always ready to exercise his ministry, whenever necessity or reason demanded. And so by the whiteness of his dress he expressed the purity of his inner life and avoided vainglory." ⁶

What is mentioned here about the form of the pastoral staff agrees with what is known regarding the early staves of the British and Irish bishops which were very short and simple. It would accordingly be croziers of that description which St. Columba and St. Kentigern exchanged with each other when they met at "the place called Mellindenor." Joceline states that the staff which Columba gave was preserved for a long time in the Church of St. Wilfrid, bishop and confessor, at Ripon; and, in corroboration of this assertion, Walter Bower, Fordun's continuator, who wrote about the year 1447, says that in his time it was still to be seen in that church, where it was held in great veneration, and preserved in a case inlaid with gold and pearls.⁷

⁶ *St. Kentigern*, p. 57.

⁷ *Ib.* pp. 343, 106, 109; *Macgeorge*, pp. 14, 15.

Being only in his twenty-fifth year, Kentigern at first remonstrated against ordination at so early an age, but finally acquiescing in his destiny he "established his cathedral seat in 'Glesgu' where he united to himself a famous and God-beloved family of servants of God, who lived after the fashion of the primitive church under the apostles, without private property, in holy discipline and divine service." But this peaceful course of existence was interrupted by a plot against his life, instigated by the apostate King Morken and his kin. Kentigern fled to Wales, where he sojourned for about twenty years, founding churches and also establishing a monastery. The site chosen for the monastery was in a vale, at the junction of the river Elwy with the Clwyd, a name which it has been conjectured may have been given to it by Kentigern from some fancied resemblance to the river and valley in the north where he had his original seat. Joceline gives a description of the work of the monastery, which is not improbably applicable also to the Glasgow establishment after making allowance for exaggeration in numbers and other particulars. Of 965 monks in all, 300 who were unlettered attended to agriculture, the care of cattle and other necessary duties outside the monastery. To another 300 were assigned duties within the cloister, such as doing the ordinary work, preparing food and building workshops. The remaining 365, a lettered class, celebrated divine service within the church, and those who were more advanced in wisdom and holiness, and fitted to teach others, sometimes accompanied Kentigern when going forth to perform his episcopal office.⁸ Neither at St. Asaph's nor at Glasgow is it likely that there would be accommodation for nearly so large an assemblage of monks, though it may be supposed that the division of labour and duties would be somewhat on the lines indicated in the narrative.

⁸ *St. Kentigern*, p. 79 ; *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 189-90.

CHAPTER IV

ST. KENTIGERN'S RETURN FROM WALES

IN or about the year 573, while Kentigern still remained in Wales, the great battle of Ardderyd or Arthuret was fought between the Pagan and the Christian parties and resulted in the establishment of Rydderch Hael, or the Liberal, as Christian King of Strathclyde. According to Joceline the Christian religion had been almost entirely destroyed in this territory, and the King, having set himself zealously to restore it, and discovering no better plan for accomplishing this object than to recall Kentigern to his first see, messengers were despatched to him earnestly entreating his return. Kentigern, therefore, left St. Asaph's, accompanied by brethren of the monastery to the number of 665, and on their way northward a halt seems to have been made at Hoddam in Dumfriesshire where he fixed his see for a time. It was after Kentigern's return to Glasgow, which, it is supposed, could not have taken place much before 582, that St. Columba with a great company of his disciples from Iona made the visit already referred to. Joceline gives a picturesque narrative of the interview and mentions that on the visitors approaching the place called "Mellindenor," a message was sent forward to announce their arrival, and Kentigern having called together his clergy and people, the two companies came towards each other, amid the singing of spiritual songs; and "when these two godlike men met, they mutually embraced and kissed each other, and having first satiated themselves with the spiritual

banquet of divine words, they after that refreshed themselves with bodily food."¹

In a curious chapter headed "How King Roderick conceded to him power over himself and his posterity," Joceline states that the King, with consent and advice of his lords, gave his homage to St. Kentigern, and handed over to him the dominion and principedom over all the kingdoms. "Not in vain," adds Joceline, "but of set purpose had he been called Kentigern, because by the will of the Lord he ought to become the head lord of all; for 'Ken' is *caput* in Latin, and the Albanic 'tyern' is interpreted *dominus* in Latin."² It is not improbable that this statement is based on the fact that the twelfth century successors of St. Kentigern were vested in large estates and extensive jurisdictions throughout the Cumbrian territory, all of which were believed to have been bestowed on the bishopric by sovereign authority.

After narrating particulars regarding the death of St. Kentigern, which event is on reasonable grounds supposed to have occurred on 13th January, 603, Joceline concludes his biography with a chapter in which he states that King Rydderch, who died in the same year, had "remained much longer than usual in the royal town which was called Pertnech." The place referred to appears to be Partick, which long after that time became the property of the church by gift of King David I. Both Bishop and King were buried at Glasgow in the church cemetery, where also, "as the inhabitants and countrymen assert, 665 saints rest;"³ and all the great men of that region for a long time have been in the custom of being buried there."⁴

¹ *St. Kentigern*, pp. 91, 106-7; *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 190-6.

² *St. Kentigern*, p. 94.

³ These are understood to be the brethren who accompanied Kentigern when he left the monastery in Wales (*Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 260).

⁴ *St. Kentigern*, p. 118.

In a previous part of his biographical work Joceline gives an account of a cross "cut by quarriers from a block of stone of wondrous size" and which, resisting all the powers of many men, and the application of machinery, for removal to the cemetery, was at last by miraculous agency rolled there and raised to the place "where it standeth to-day." The cross, it is added, "was very large and never from that time lacked great virtue, seeing that many maniacs and those vexed with unclean spirits are used to be tied, of a Sunday night, to that cross, and in the morning they are found restored, freed and cleansed, though oftentimes they are found dead or at the point of death."⁵ Of this large block of stone, hewn into the form of a cross and probably sculptured, there seems to have been left no trace. On account of its reputed possession of supernatural power, leading to such deplorably misguided practices as those just referred to, the cross had little chance of surviving the Reformation if it lasted till that time, and either then or previously it may have been broken up and used as building material. The church and dwellings erected by St. Kentigern and his more immediate followers were probably constructed of wood or of stone of the rudest description, and most of the material would naturally disappear at a comparatively early date. As the result of recent research, it is believed that of the original church or of any buildings which may have replaced it, previous to the twelfth century, no fragment, even of the foundations, now remain.

⁵ *St. Kentigern*, p. 110.

CHAPTER V

EARLY PLACE NAMES

JOCELINE says that on Kentigern's first arrival he came as far as Cathures, which is "now called Glasgu." Thus far the time when the latter name came into use is not indicated, but as we are told that, on his election as bishop, Kentigern established his cathedral seat in a town called Glasgu, and that, following upon the death of two of his enemies, King Morken and his wicked follower Cathen, he "for many days enjoyed great peace and quiet, living in his own city of Glasgu," it may be assumed that, so far as the narrator knew, the two designations were used contemporaneously. There has been much discussion on the interpretation of these names. "Cathures," it has been supposed, indicated the Fort or encampment of the chief who held sway in the district. With regard to "Glasgu" there have been various conjectures. In one of the MSS. of Joceline's *Life of St. Kentigern* it is said that his first church was erected in the town called "Deschu," but, in the biographer's time, called "Glaschu." The initial letter "d" in the first name is now generally regarded as a misreading of "cl" (these letters in old writing being often indistinguishable), so that, with this correction, we are told that the town was at one time called Cleschu and afterwards Glaschu.¹

Ancient place names are very often derived from the

¹ *St. Kentigern*, pp. 51, 55, 72; *Rottenrow*, pp. 36, 42.

distinguishing physical feature of the locality, and from the interpretations given in the footnote ² a reasonable and fairly convincing theory is established for the city, as it existed in Joceline's time, being called *Glaschu*, a name which by easy transition has now become Glasgow. The qualities indicated by these interpretations fit the site of the cathedral and adjoining ground in a sufficiently general way; and it is not unlikely that this corner of the future city alone bore the name before it acquired a wider application. "Glasgow" was the earliest name of the stream now usually called St. Enoch's Burn. This burn, rising near the cathedral, flowed westward, and after receiving some small tributaries, joined the Clyde close by the chapel dedicated to St. Tenew, the mother of St. Kentigern. Between the burn and the precincts of the cathedral there was from early times a piece of land called *Glasgowfield*, a name which still occurs in title deeds. This locality, chosen as the site of the primitive church or cells and the dwellings of St. Kentigern and his evangelistic and colonizing community, might be supposed to have grown in importance as the *rath* by comparison diminished, till the name *Cleschu* or *Glaschu* would gradually supersede *Cathures*, if indeed the latter designation was ever applied

² In his *Old Glasgow*, pp. 29-31. Dr. Macgeorge gives several variations of the name in early writings and on seals. Discarding the interpretation "grey smith," given by some local historians, and also the suggestion "clais," a ravine or hollow, and "dhu," dark, he arrives at the conclusion that the name means the beloved green place—from the British branch of the Celtic language "*glas*," *viridis*, and "cu" or "gu" *carus*; and, he adds, "it probably took its origin from the spot where Kentigern and Columba met, and where the first church was erected."

In a paper read to the Glasgow Archæological Society on 18th January, 1883, Dr. William George Black has gathered the opinions of various eminent authorities, and there is general concurrence in holding that the first syllable means green or grey, the translucent colour of still water. The puzzle lies in the second syllable. One suggestion was that it might be a phonetic rendering of the Gaelic *achadh*, a field; and *Glasachadh* would thus mean a green field. Among suggestions reaching Dr. Black through the public press, were *glas*, blue, *gwy*, water; and *glas*, green, *cal*, a field. (*Glasg. Arch. Soc.* 1st series, ii. pp. 219-28.)

to anything but the ancient fort and its surrounding structures.³

As distinguished, apparently, from "Glaschu," another place of residence is referred to on two occasions. Through a flood the barns and grain of King Morken were carried to "the place called Mellingdenor, where the saint was at that time accustomed to dwell." St. Columba meets Kentigern at "the place called Mellindenor, where the saint abode at that time."⁴ Perhaps the name Glasgu was at first restricted to the area adjoining the old encampment, and Mellingdenor, where the monks dwelt, was situated nearer the banks of the stream which has since then appropriated the name, latterly transformed to Molendinar, from the erroneous notion that it was so called on account of its supplying water power to the several mills erected along its course. The name of the burn appears as Malyndonor in 1463⁵ and 1542, and as Mellendinor in 1455.⁶ Joceline says that Kentigern used to bathe in the stream and to dry his limbs on the brow of a hill called Gulath by the water side, near his own home. Wester Craigs, on which the Necropolis has been formed, is on the left bank of the Molendinar, exactly opposite the cathedral, and so far as situation is concerned is likely enough to have been the hill referred to. Though Gulath means Dewhill,⁷ the suggestion that it

³ In his *Medieval Glasgow* (pp. 7-12) Dr. James Primrose adopts Joceline's interpretation of *Cleschu*—the dear family—as applicable either to the people or the church, and after full discussion, comes to the conclusion that the name signifies the dear church, a term bestowed by St. Mungo on his return from Wales to the scene of his earlier labours. Keeping in mind, however, that place names have usually a tenacious hold, even under the most changeable circumstances, it is not easy to see how the suggested alteration could be permanently effected. The greater likelihood is that the district within which St. Mungo planted his church retained its descriptive name, a designation which has been continuously recognizable in all its forms from *Cleschu* to Glasgow.

⁴ *St. Kentigern*, pp. 70, 106.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 389.

⁶ *Lib. Coll.* pp. 24, 253 ("Malyndonar" in 1542).

⁷ Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow* (1880), p. 150; *St. Kentigern*, pp. 54, 344.

and Dowhill, ground situated to the south of Wester Craigs, and sloping towards Gallowgate, are identical, does not seem to be based on sufficient authority. The name Dowhill occurs frequently in sixteenth century title deeds, from 1501 onwards. Old Acts of Parliament contain many regulations as to the erection and maintenance of Dowcats or Dovecots, and if one of these was placed on Dowhill the name is easily accounted for. Part of the Old Green of Glasgow was called Doucat Green and Dove and Dovecot enter into numerous place names throughout Scotland.

Highways in Kentigern's time must have been better than might be gathered from the narrative of his biographer, who represents the bulls yoked to the funeral car as miraculously travelling towards Cathures in a straight line where there was no path. Now it is known that the road from Stirling and St. Ninians, over the Campsie Fells, to Glasgow, is a very ancient route, and there can be little doubt that this or some parallel road was in use in Roman times, if not long before. The Roman road which ran from "Coria" by Cleghorn, Carluke, Motherwell and Bellshill to Tollcross and thence through Glasgow, along the old Drygait, to Partick and the wall beside West Kilpatrick has been already referred to.⁸ A military way was visible in Sibbald's time from Glasgow to Cadder, and seems from thence, he says, "to have reached from Cairpentollach, called now Kirkintillo." Continued still further to the north, this would be the route which was followed by St. Kentigern.⁹

Most of the devices on the bishops' seals, the chapter seals and the early seal of the municipality, represent incidents of a miraculous or legendary nature narrated in Joceline's work.¹⁰

⁸ *Antea*, p. 7.

⁹ *Rottenrow*, pp. 37, 38; Sibbald's *Historical Inquiries* (1707), p. 39.

¹⁰ The theory has been propounded that the emblems are not to be accounted for by the legends, but rather that the legends arose from the presence of relics and monuments of pre-Joceline times. (See Lecture by Ludovick McL. Mann, reported (with illustrations) in *Evening Times*, 1st April 1918.)

One exception is the bell, though even here all the stories regarding its history cannot be accepted. That the Pope, as is asserted, gave Kentigern the bell while the latter was in Rome, on the occasion of his seventh visit, is not believed, nor is there any probability that Kentigern was ever in that city. But the bell is known to have been in existence in Glasgow from a very early period till so late as the middle of the seventeenth century. Quadrangular in shape and similar to those made in this country or in Ireland up to but not much later than the ninth century, it is just possible that the bell may have been given to Kentigern at the time of his ordination by the bishop who came from Ireland to perform that office. Such bells, usually four or five inches in height and a little less in breadth, were used at altar services and were also rung through the streets by friars or clerics for the repose of the souls of the departed. The printed records of Glasgow contain several references to the ringing of St. Mungo's bell through the town in services for the dead.

The salmon with the ring in its mouth represents the recovery by St. Kentigern of the Queen of Cadzow's ring, which she had furtively given to a knight from whose scrip it was abstracted by the King and thrown into the river. This put the Queen into a serious plight, and, having sought Kentigern's assistance, the saint got one of his people to take a salmon from the river, in the mouth of which fish the ring was found. It was at once sent to the Queen, thus enabling her to show it to the King and save her life. The whole scene is represented on the counter seal of Bishop Robert Wyschard, made about the year 1271.

The tree was at first only a twig or branch, and is so shown on the oldest seal of the burgh, an impression of which is affixed to a document granted in 1325. This device commemorated the frozen bough which Kentigern miraculously kindled into flame when the holy fire in the refectory at Culross

monastery had, during his sleep, been maliciously extinguished by his envious companions. The remaining device, that of the bird, represents the robin redbreast, a favourite of St. Serf, which had been accidentally killed but was miraculously brought back to life by St. Kentigern.¹

¹ These devices or emblems, fuller particulars of which will be found in Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow* (1880), pp. 19-29, are alluded to in this popular jingle :

“ The tree that never grew
The fish that never swam
The bird that never flew
And the bell that never rang.”

CHAPTER VI

AFTER THE DAYS OF ST. KENTIGERN—STRATHCLYDE AND CUMBRIA

No record has been preserved of the immediate successors of St. Kentigern, and shortly after his death and the death of his protector, Rydderch, the whole of the Cumbrian and adjoining Anglic districts, the latter stretching northward to the Forth, were thrown into confusion by the revolution which restored paganism for a time under the pagan Mercian King, Penda, and the apostate Welsh King, Ceadwalla. In 635 King Oswald established the Columban Church in Northumbria, and as the kingdom of the Britons, a few years later, fell under the dominion of the Angles, it is probable that during the period of their rule there would be no independent church there. Consequent on the defeat inflicted by the Picts on the Anglian army at Dunnichen, in 685, the Britons inhabiting those districts north of the Solway, embracing the area now represented by the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Lanark, Ayr and Dumfries, with the stronghold of Alclyde as the chief citadel of their territory, recovered their liberty, and two years later they conformed to the practice of Rome in observance of the proper time of keeping Easter, then a matter of the greatest importance from an ecclesiastical point of view. About that time one, Sedulius, who was present at a council held at Rome in the year 721, has been associated with the Britons of Strathclyde as their bishop.¹

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. pp. 199, 219, 260, 265.

In his *Life of Kentigern*, Joceline tells us that he "joined to himself a great many disciples whom he trained in the sacred literature of the Divine Law, and educated to sanctity of life by his word and example. They all, with a godly jealousy, imitated his life and doctrines, accustomed to fastings and sacred vigils at certain seasons, intent on psalms and prayers and meditation on the Divine Word, content with sparing diet and dress, occupied every day and hour in manual labour. For, after the fashion of the primitive church under the Apostles and their successors, possessing nothing of their own, and living soberly, righteously, godly and continently, they dwelt as did Kentigern himself, in single cottages, from the time when they had become mature in age and doctrine. Therefore these solitary clerics were called in common speech *Keledei*." On this passage Dr. W. F. Skene remarks that in assigning the *Keledei* of Glasgow to the time of Kentigern Joceline is guilty of as great an anachronism as when he assigned to him Servanus as a teacher.² Joceline wrote when there existed bodies of *Keledei* in Scotland, and he is no doubt repeating a genuine tradition as to the original characteristics of the Culdean clergy before they became canons. What he describes is simply a community of anchorites or hermits. Servanus was contemporary with Sedulius, bishop of the Britons, and it is to this period that these *Keledei* of Glasgow properly belong. This connection with the real Servanus, Dr. Skene thinks, may have led to the history of this period having been drawn back, and both *Keledei* and Servanus associated with the great apostle of Glasgow in popular tradition.³

After this we have no connected historical account of the Britons for a long time to come, but it is known that in 756 they surrendered to Eadbert, King of Northumbria, and Angus, King of the Picts, and that these invaders took Alclyde, which was burnt in 780. In the next century the territorial name

² *Antea*, p. 13.

³ *St. Kentigern*, p. 66; *Celtic Scotland*, ii. p. 260.

Britons of Strathclyde or Strathclyde Welsh was for the first time applied to the inhabitants who had hitherto borne the general name of Britons. Thus the *Irish Annals* narrate that Artgha, King of the Britons of Strathclyde, was killed in 872, and the *Saxon Chronicle* tells that in 875 the Danes subdued the whole of Northumbria and ravaged the Picts and the Strathclyde Welsh. It is in a narrative of this event, written by the chronicler Ethelwerd, between 975 and 1011, that the name Cumbrians is for the first time applied to the inhabitants of Strathclyde ⁴

It is understood that in the ninth century the people dwelling in the regions north of the Solway, including Strathclyde, and the Picts of Galloway were independent of the Angles and of each other, and that the Angles still maintained a hold upon the district south of the Solway. In the following century, however, the name of Strathclyde Welsh passed into that of Cumbri, and in the *Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 945, the important announcement is made that Edmund, King of Wessex, "harried all Cumbraland and gave it to Malcolm, King of the Scots." Whether the ceded district consisted of the area on the south of the Solway or that on the north of the Solway, or both together, is doubtful, and in any case the transaction was probably little more than nominal. For a long time after 945 Strathclyde remained in active hostility to the King of Scots, but in the year 1018 Owen, its last independent King, died, and the second Malcolm was then able to appoint his own grandson as Owen's successor.⁵

No fewer than six Kings are named as reigning in Scotland between the time of Malcolm I. (942-54) and that of Malcolm II. (1005-34) in which latter reign Lothian was ceded to the Scots and the several territories were thenceforth

⁴ *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 295; *St. Kentigern*, p. 332; *Scottish Annals*, p. 62.

⁵ *Celtic Scotland*, i. pp. 362, 393-4.

designated the kingdom of Scotia. But it was not till the consolidation of feudal Scotland under King David, in 1124, that Cumbria was more than a dependency of the Scottish kingdom, and there had been periods when even that relationship was not maintained. One notable break occurred during the reign of Macbeth (1040-57), who does not appear to have ruled south of the Forth; and, between the death of Malcolm III. and the accession of Edgar, it seemed as if the Forth was again to be the southern boundary. Throughout Edgar's comparatively peaceful reign of nine years some difficulties were experienced in ruling the combined territory, on account of diversity of race and complications of a political nature, and historians are of opinion that it was for this reason that, on Edgar's death, Scotland proper was assigned to Alexander, with the title of King, while David, the younger brother, ruled the southern district as Earl. This latter territory—Cumbria, Teviotdale and part of Lothian—the scene of many old rivalries between aboriginal Britons, Saxon and Norse invaders, and nearer neighbours, the Picts and Scots, comprehended the area now included in the countries of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh, with adjoining districts not precisely defined. Many places throughout these bounds soon rose into prominence when placed under the able administration of Earl David, who had exceptional advantages for ruling the Border country. On account of his sister being the wife of King Henry, and his own marriage bringing with it substantial interest in England, he was in his younger days in close relationship with the English court. This intimacy with the southern country accelerated the Anglo-Saxon and Norman immigration, which had been going on since the arrival of Queen Margaret, and it was not long till most of the land, other than the portions retained as royal domain or gifted to the church, was in the possession of the new settlers as overlords. It is thought, however,

that the native population would continue to occupy their previous holdings as cultivators of the soil, and, if this view be correct, the introduction of the new feudal overlords probably caused little or no disturbance. The protection which a powerful chief could extend to his vassals and tenants would counterbalance other disadvantages and reconcile the old possessors to the change.

CHAPTER VII

DIOCESE OF GLASGOW

WITH regard to the extent of the kingdom of Cumbria, a chronicler of the year 1069, in the early part of the third King Malcolm's reign, states that it included the three bishoprics of Glasgow, Candida Casa and Carlisle. Both sides of the Solway, as well as the Galloway district, were thus at that time comprehended within the kingdom ; but, according to the *Saxon Chronicle*, William Rufus, in 1092, went with a large army to Carlisle and wrested from Malcolm the district south of the Solway.¹

At what time the diocese, which originally extended from the Clyde district to the Derwent in Cumberland, was split into two, with the Solway as the dividing line, is not definitely known, but such seems to have been the position about the middle of the eleventh century. The Cumbrian region, however, still continued to be viewed as a whole, and Joceline uses the term in that sense, though the name of Cumberland began to be exclusively appropriated by the southern parts. Of the existence of Bishops of Glasgow during the eleventh century, any statements in the chronicles are rather vague and some are of doubtful authority. According to one account, Thomas, Archbishop of York, between 1109 and 1114, ordained "a holy man, Michael," as Bishop of Glasgow, and on the authority of "truthful men" it is also stated that Kinsi, who was

¹ *St. Kentigern*, pp. 333-4 ; Dr. G. Neilson's *Annals of the Solway*, p. 36.

archbishop between 1055 and 1060, had consecrated his predecessors, Magsula and John, the only other bishops, besides Sedulius, of whom there is any mention between the time of St. Kentigern and the twelfth century. "But," adds the chronicler, "because of hostile invasion and desolation and the barbarity of the land, for long the church was without a pastor, until Earl David (afterwards King of Scotland) appointed, as bishop, Michael aforesaid, and sent him over to be consecrated by Archbishop Thomas." Though Michael's name is mentioned only by English historians and does not appear in Scottish record, there seems to be little doubt of his existence, at least as a titular Bishop of Glasgow. He died and was buried in Westmoreland, and as he acted as an assistant bishop at York his personal connection with Glasgow was probably of the slightest. That he was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, at Earl David's desire, is improbable, the claim for canonical obedience, either to Canterbury or York, having been so constantly disputed by Scottish rulers. Of Magsula and John no reliable information is procurable, and it is suspected that their names are chronicled merely in support of the claim of the Archbishops of York to supremacy over the Scottish sees.²

Of John, the next Bishop of Glasgow, a monk who has the reputation of being a learned and worthy man, there are fuller and more authentic particulars. Formerly tutor to Earl David, he was consecrated Bishop of Glasgow prior to 1118. In a letter by Pope Calixtus II. to the bishop, in 1122, it is stated that he had been elected by the chapter of the church of York and at their request had been consecrated by the former Pope, and he was therefore enjoined to render obedience to the Archbishop of York. Neither this command nor a repeated order in the same year and to the like effect was complied

² *St. Kentigern*, p. xcii; *Scottish Annals*, pp. 133-4; Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 294-5.

with ; and here it may be added, as showing the persistency on both sides, that a similar request by Pope Innocent II., in 1131, was also ignored. John, having been suspended in 1122, left his diocese, intending to visit Rome and Jerusalem, but he was compelled to return to Glasgow in the following year. From a subsequent absence he was similarly recalled in 1138.³

Most of the high officers of State, in early times, were churchmen, and in the exercise of these functions Glasgow ecclesiastics had their full share. In an undated charter by King David to the Abbey of Dunfermline, believed to be granted about the year 1130, John, designated bishop and chancellor, is one of the witnesses. The chancellor was the King's adviser in all legal matters, acting as his assessor in courts of justice, while the King still held them in person, and he was also usually keeper of the Great Seal.⁴

It must have been about the time of John's instalment that the reconstitution of the Bishopric of Glasgow was accomplished. One of the durable acts of King David's administration was the establishment of a diocese co-extensive with his Cumbrian territory, and shortly after that the bishop entered on his duties. About the same time David caused an official inquiry to be made concerning the possessions of the church, and the result was set forth in a document, a copy of which, in what is supposed to be twelfth century handwriting, is engrossed in the ancient Register of the Bishopric. In a preliminary narrative the founding of the church as the see of the "bishop of Cumbria,"⁵ the reception of St. Kentigern as bishop, and the flourishing condition of the holy faith throughout the district, are referred to ; but in course of time evil influences prevailed, whereby the church and its possessions

³ *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 295-6.

⁴ *Reg. de Dunfermlyn*, No. 12 ; *Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 74, 336.

⁵ "Cumbria," as applicable to this early period, is erroneous, but the slip was natural to a twelfth century narrator.

were destroyed, the former inhabitants were driven into exile, and tribes of different nations poured in and possessed the desolated territory. Different in race, unlike in language and not agreeing among themselves, these intruders clung to heathenism rather than the worship of the Faith.

At last, in the time of Henry, King of England, while Alexander, King of the Scots, was reigning in Scotia, God sent to the people David, brother german of the Scots King, to be their prince and leader, "to correct their shameless and wicked vices and curb their insolent pride." Towards this purpose David, by the aid of his nobles and clergy, chose as bishop, John, "a religious man who had educated him and had vowed not without effect that his life should be devoted to God." Unwilling to accept the charge, on account of the savage state of the unhappy people, John was consecrated by Pope Paschal against his will, but being accepted by the inhabitants and welcomed by the prince and nobles of the kingdom, he assumed the charge and succeeded in spreading abroad the Gospel throughout the Cumbrian diocese.

It is then related that David, chiefly from love to God, but partly through exhortation of the bishop, caused inquiry to be made concerning the lands pertaining to the church of Glasgow, in each of the provinces of Cumbria which were under his dominion and rule, "for he did not rule over the whole of Cumbria,"⁶ so that there might be left to future generations a certification of those possessions which "of old" the church had held. Accordingly, by the help and counsel of the old and wise men of all Cumbria, and on the oath of four persons who are named, three of them being designated "judges in Cumbria," a list of the church's possessions, so far as these could be ascertained, was compiled.⁷ Like many other church lands

⁶ See preceding note.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 1; *Inquisicio*, with translation printed in *Scots Lore*, pp. 38-41.

throughout the country at that time some of the lands contained in the list had probably passed into the hands of laymen, but if so they must to a large extent have been restored, as most of those specified can be identified among the possessions of the bishopric at a later date.

From the form of the document narrating the investigation and its result, it may be assumed that the first part of the procedure consisted in a supplication to Prince David, prepared by Bishop John, with the assistance of clerics associated with him in the reorganization of the restored see and well versed in such historical matter as was obtainable from the Annals and Chronicles then extant. On such an application a breve or order for inquiry and the gathering of evidence from the "old and wise men" throughout the several districts would naturally follow, and the scribe whose duty it was to record the verdict has summarized the statements contained in the writings placed before him as well as the result of the inquiry. It has been surmised that both the compiler of the original document and the transcriber who engrossed it in the register may have been imported clerics not familiar with the names of the churches and lands reported as belonging to the see, and that this may partly account for the difficulty now experienced in their complete identification, especially in the vicinity of Glasgow. Less difficulty is encountered in recognizing the recorded names of places in the shires of Dumfries, Selkirk, Roxburgh and Peebles, and in the landward parts of Lanarkshire, all of vital importance to the local historian.

CHAPTER VIII

LANDED POSSESSIONS OF THE CHURCH

IN the beginning of the twelfth century most of the territory surrounding Glasgow, and extending over Rutherglen, Partick and Govan, formed part of the royal domain and was probably at the disposal of Prince David as ruler of the district. Even at that time a considerable population must have been gathered in the city and adjacent villages, and as these people would to a large extent depend on the produce of the soil for their maintenance, it may be assumed that all available land was cultivated by the class latterly designated Rentallers, from whom a share of the produce, in name of maill or rent, would be exacted by the prince and his officers. So much of this land as was by the inquest ascertained to belong to the church would be under the same system of management, the only difference being that the bishop instead of the prince would be overlord and entitled to the contribution exigible from the tillers of the soil. Split up into such divisions, the names of these holdings were apparently too numerous for insertion in the document specifying the result of the inquiry, and consequently only two or three leading territorial designations are given, and even these few cannot all be satisfactorily identified.

About "Pathelanerhc," the original name of Provan, there is no doubt. "Cunclut" has probably a survival in "Kinclayth," a piece of land now incorporated in Glasgow Green. In his *Caledonia*, Chalmers gives examples of many

places, both in South and North Britain, having as a compound "Ken," "Cyn," or "Kin," signifying first or foremost part, the head, end or limit. In "Conclut" the second syllable probably indicates Clutha—the river Clyde—and the whole word, with its prefix of comprehensive meaning, may be applicable to a large extent of river frontage. Unless this be so, or unless Partick, bestowed on the church by a subsequent grant, extended a long way east of the River Kelvin, we have no certain knowledge how Glasgow Green and a wide stretch of land to the east and west of that space came into the possession of the bishopric. But, indeed, it is likely enough that the bishop obtained large tracts of royal territory without the formality of a written grant, and even if scrip of some kind passed through the hands of the prince's officers, the chances are that in many cases the transactions would neither be registered nor the bits of parchment preserved. The recorded charters relating to special lands within the area subsequently known as the Barony of Glasgow are renewals rather than original grants, and this confirms the impression that, simultaneously with the reconstitution of the diocese, the bishop was established as overlord of the city and the whole of its surrounding lands, both those which had formerly belonged to the church and the remaining portions from which Prince David, through his officers, had hitherto derived a share of the produce.

Of the system under which these barony lands were cultivated and put to the best avail, both for overlords and the working community, we have no contemporary evidence, but it may reasonably be surmised that it was not essentially different from that which was found in practice in the sixteenth century, the earliest date of any extant rental books or rent rolls. The crop-bearing lands would thus be regularly tilled by a class of rentallers to whom distinct areas would be assigned, while those lands more suitable for grazing purposes would be



SARCOPHAGUS FROM GOVAN CHURCHYARD.

possessed in common, the inhabitants being entitled to put on cattle or sheep stock in specified numbers and at prescribed rates. Even in the present day, after so long a course of drainage and cultivation, there are several small lochs throughout the barony, and in the twelfth century patches of stagnant water must have been much more numerous, and marshy land must have abounded. From such localities, and from the hilly and rocky ground, with their yield of brushwood, heath, timber and stone, fuel and building material would be obtained. Coal, if used at all, would only be got by quarrying near the surface, and perhaps the bishops' rentallers would learn that art from their neighbours in the Monklands, the rentallers of those monks of Neubottle who have the credit of being the first coalworkers in Scotland.¹

At this time, when the bishop was recognized as overlord of the barony lands, it is probable that these were subject to certain exactions for the upkeep of Prince David's establishment at Rutherglen castle. Such at least is the inference which may be drawn from the terms of an undated charter of King William (1165-1214) to the effect that after his accession to the throne King David erected his demesne vill of Rutherglen into a royal burgh, giving its officers authority to levy the customs and dues exigible over a wide district, including the Glasgow area.² It may accordingly be assumed that the bailies of the newly constituted burgh would continue the collection from the bishop's lands of the customs hitherto payable, though, as will afterwards be seen, the establishment of a burgh at Glasgow eventually led to these being gathered from a restricted area.

¹ *Early Scotch History*, p. 131.

² *A.P.S.* i. p. 86. In a supplication to Parliament in 1661 it is stated that King David granted a charter to the burgh of Rutherglen in 1126 (*A.P.S.* vii. pp. 239-40).

CHAPTER IX

BUILDING OF CATHEDRAL AND EARLY DEDICATIONS

BEFORE the end of King David's reign the diocesan reorganization of the whole of the country was completed, and the foundation of the various bishoprics and appointment of the bishops were followed by the erection of cathedral chapters, usually of secular canons, constituted for the most part on English models. The chapter of Glasgow was based on the model of Sarum (*i.e.* Salisbury), the ritual of which was likewise adopted. But for the completion of such arrangements some little time would be required, and meanwhile the building of a suitable church had to be undertaken. Towards the building and restoration of the church Prince David, in the year 1123, granted one hundred shillings yearly from the rents of Hardingestrorna within the earldom of Northampton, which earldom he had acquired on his marriage with the Countess Matilda, and to this grant his wife was a consenter.¹ No portion of this early structure has survived, but the general plan is indicated by a fragment of the immediately succeeding work which is still preserved at the west end of the present lower church. Though in the original design a completed church was no doubt contemplated, the first object would be the erection of the Choir, with its High Altar, where a beginning might at once be made in the exercise of divine worship. From the slope of the ground the building would naturally be in two storeys, the High Altar in the Choir being placed over the shrine

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 2 ; *Lawrie's Charters*, No. 46.

in the crypt, or lower church, containing the relics of St. Kentigern. Only this part of the work seems to have been accomplished when the new church was dedicated in July, 1136.²

At the dedication of the new church King David granted to God and St. Kentigern part of the land in "Perdeyc" territory which has already been referred to as an old possession of the British Kings. The portion which was now assigned to the church is described in the grant as the land which Ascelinus, archdeacon, held of the King, "in wood and plain, waters and fishings, meadows and pasturages, all as Ailsa and Tocca held the same on the day in which the land was in the king's demesne." The archdeacon, however, was to remain in possession during his lifetime, paying to the church a silver mark and rendering such services as he had been accustomed to do to the King, but after his decease the land was to remain with the church free and quit of all such claims. At a subsequent but unknown date David bestowed on the church another part of "Perthec," and he also, by a charter, granted prior to 1152, gave "Guven, with its marches," to be possessed by the church of St. Kentigern of Glasgow and the bishopric, free and quit of all customs and services.³

Before referring more particularly to these grants and their utilization for the augmentation of cathedral services, it may here be noted that the remainder of the lands of Partick, to give the old royal demesne its modern name, was either granted or confirmed by Malcolm IV. to Walter, son of Alan, the High Steward, who had obtained from King David extensive lands, including those of Renfrew on the south side of the Clyde. At this part the river was late in being confined to a settled course, as may be seen from the numerous islets shown on Blaeu's map, the survey for which was made

² *Cathedral* (1901), pp. 9, 10.

³ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 3, 6, 7.

in the beginning of the seventeenth century, doubtless after many changes in the channel since Malcolm's time. In the charter by that King to the Steward, confirming both his office and lands, there is included "as much of Prethec as King David held in his hand," and it is stated that Malcolm gave and confirmed the same for services which the Steward had rendered to King David and him.⁴ The lands so bestowed, so far as not composed of river islets, were situated on the north side of the Clyde, and are now merged in the parish of Renfrew. Having long ago lost their original name, the lands now include such well-known places as Yoker, Scotstoun and Jordanhill.

The town of Renfrew, occupying part of the royal demesne, had been erected into a burgh by King David, and about the same time he gave its church to Bishop John of Glasgow, who thereupon constituted it a prebend of his cathedral. After the bestowal of the lands on Walter the Steward and the foundation by the latter of Paisley Abbey, the monks claimed right to the church of Renfrew as being within the parish of Paisley, but by a Bull of Pope Urban, granted about the years 1185-7, the church of Renfrew was confirmed to the Bishop of Glasgow, and by a formal agreement entered into between the years 1208 and 1232, the Abbot renounced all claim to the church.⁵

As stated in a previous chapter, the lands of Partick appear to have been extensive, though they are nowhere precisely defined. One of the four wards into which the barony of Glasgow was latterly divided was called Partick Ward, embracing property as far east of the River Kelvin as Shettleston, but this can scarcely be accepted as more than an indication that to some undefined extent the lands of Partick included a portion of that area.

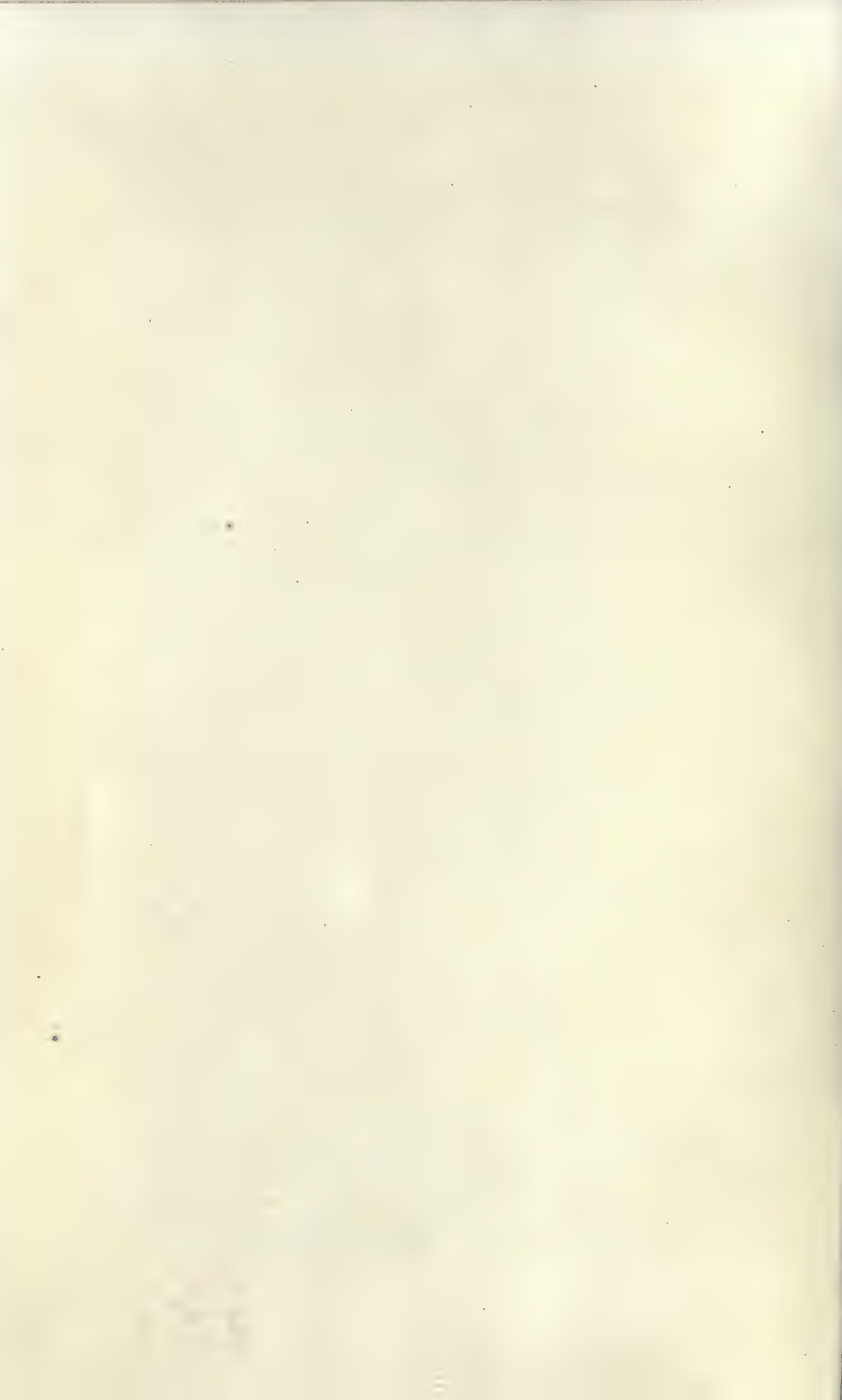
In Walter Bower's continuation of the *Scotichronicon* it

⁴ *Reg. de Passelet*, Appendix I.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 66, 113.



OLD BRITISH CAMP AT QUEEN'S PARK.



is stated that Saint Constantine, King of Cornwall, leaving an earthly kingdom, became a soldier of the heavenly King, and, along with Saint Columba, went to Scotland and preached the faith to the Scots and Picts ; that he founded a monastery of brethren at Govan on the Clyde, over whom he was abbot, and that he converted the whole land of Kintyre, where he died a martyr for the faith, and was buried at Govan.⁶ Other chroniclers give narratives to similar purport, and that there was a church or monastery at Govan, long before the time of King David, seems to be further evidenced by the fact that there are preserved in the churchyard various sculptured stones of ancient workmanship, including an elaborately decorated sarcophagus, believed to be the shrine of St. Constantine, king and martyr.⁷ When Govan, therefore, came into possession of Glasgow bishopric it seems to have had a church as well as a village and an agricultural community occupying a considerable tract of land. The territory bestowed by King David extended along the south bank of the river Clyde from the lands of Renfrew on the west to those of Rutherglen at Polmadie Burn on the east, and were bounded by the stewardry lands of "Kerkert" and Paisley on the south. On "Kerkert" lands, a short distance from the southern Govan boundary, stood an old British camp, the outer rampart of which, 400 yards in circumference, still remains in a fair state of preservation. Earthworks of similar description must have been common in the district, but in consequence of agricultural and building operations their sites are now beyond identification. "Camphill," being within the Queen's Park grounds, is secure against further dilapidation.

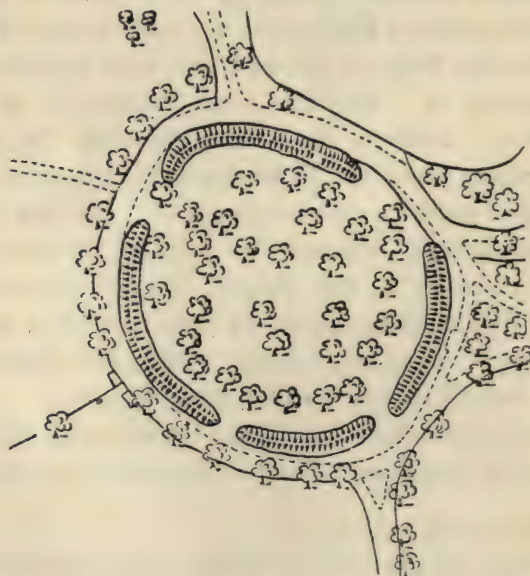
In King David's charter of Govan the bishop is not named, and though it is supposed to have been granted about the year

⁶ Goodal's ed. (1759), i. p. 130.

⁷ *Scots Lore*, p. 106 ; *The Govan Sarcophagus* (1902) ; *Scottish International Exhibition Catalogue*, 1901, Nos. 238-47.

1134 it is uncertain in whose episcopate the church was originally formed into a prebend of the cathedral. By an undated writing Bishop Herbert, who succeeded John in 1147, gave and confirmed the prebend to "Help," his clerk, describing it as the church of Govan, with all its ecclesiastical rights, and the islands between Govan and Perthic, and that part of Perthic which David, King of Scots, gave towards the endowment of the church of Glasgow at the dedication thereof, and another part of Perthic which the same King afterwards gave to that church and to Bishop John. It is stated that parts of the lands thus dedicated did not formerly belong to the prebend, but that they, with the adjacent islands and fishings, were bestowed by Bishop Herbert, for augmentation of the honour and dignity of his church.⁸ It was in consequence of these arrangements that when the parish of Govan was formed and defined its northern section extended beyond the river Clyde.

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No 7



SITE OF BRITISH CAMP AT QUEEN'S PARK.

CHAPTER X

BISHOP HERBERT—CATHEDRAL ORGANIZATION—SOMERLED'S INVASION

BISHOP JOHN, who during his episcopate was frequently away from Glasgow for lengthened periods, died in 1147 and was buried in the monastery of Jedburgh. He was succeeded by Herbert, who had been third abbot of Selkirk and was first of Kelso, having held that office at the time when the abbey which Prince David had established at the former town, in 1113, was transferred to Kelso in 1128. The new bishop was consecrated by Pope Eugenius, at Auxerre in France, on 24th August, 1147. In addition to gifts of churches and endowments, in places more distant, King David, in 1150, gave to the Bishop of Glasgow the church of Cadihou or Cadzow, near Hamilton,¹ a church which subsequently became the prebend of the dean of the cathedral chapter. Other two grants of uncertain though probably prior dates may also be noticed.

By the first of the two undated charters just alluded to, David gave to the church of Glasgow the whole tithes of his "chan" in the beasts and pigs of Strathgrif and Cunningham, Kyle and Carrick, in each year, unless the King should go to dwell there and consume his own chan; and by the second charter the King gave to the church the eighth penny of all pleas throughout Cumbria.² Evidence of the continuation of

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 8.

² *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 9, 10. Sir Archibald Lawrie places these charters *circa* 1139-41 (*Early Scottish Charters*, pp. 95, 96).

these allowances, till near the end of the thirteenth century, is found in the published Exchequer Rolls, from which it will be seen that in the diocese of Glasgow the bishop had his eighth of the fines and escheats of both justiciary and sheriff courts, his right also extending over the diocese of Galloway in respect of the issues of the former but not of the latter courts.³ Chan or can, it may be explained, was the share of produce of crops or animals delivered as part of the rent and dues payable by tenants and vassals for the lands they possessed under a superior.

During the reign of his brother-in-law, Henry I., David's relations with England were altogether friendly, but in 1136, when Stephen seized the crown in violation of the arrangement for the succession of the late King's daughter, Maud, David entered on a course of warfare with England which lasted intermittently for a number of years. These contests resulted in his securing possession of a wide district in the north of England, and for the remainder of his reign the Eden and the Tees became the boundaries between the two kingdoms. But owing to the death of Prince Henry, his only son, David was succeeded by the youthful Malcolm, who was forced to relinquish these gains, and thenceforth the Scottish border line did not cross the Solway.

At the desire of Bishop Herbert a foreign ecclesiastic who had travelled much, but whose name is not known, composed or at least began a *Life of St. Kentigern*, but only a fragment of it has been preserved and it is not known if the task was ever completed. The extant fragment has often been printed and commented on, and it seems to have been known to Joceline, who compiled the fuller biography of the saint about twenty-five years later. The Prologue is interesting as showing the views current in Bishop Herbert's time. Many regions, the writer says, he had traversed, carefully investigating

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. lviii, etc.

the manners of the same and the devotion of their clergy and laity. Every land he had found venerating its own provincial saint, but when he came to Scotland, though he found it rich in the relics of saints, illustrious in its clergy and glorious in its princes, it was, in comparison with other kingdoms, behind-hand in its reverence for the saints. Noting the scantiness of such attention, the writer, for the honour of the most holy confessor and bishop Kentigern, who in comparison with others, "glittereth like Lucifer among the stars," took up his pen at the instance of Herbert, the venerable Bishop of Glasgow, and had composed the work "from the material found in the little book of his virtues and from the oral communication of the faithful." ⁴

Along with these researches into the past history of the see, the bishop also devoted some attention to its existing organization, and the constitution of the cathedral chapter, based, as already mentioned, on that of Sarum, is understood to have been framed by him. At a subsequent period, when the constitution was again under consideration, full particulars were obtained from Salisbury, with a ritual composed so early as the year 1076, and as will hereafter be seen these were adapted to the requirements of Glasgow cathedral. Like his predecessor, Herbert seems to have disregarded the supremacy claims of York, though in 1155, Pope Adrian addressed a joint letter to all the Scottish bishops ordering them to submit to the archbishop of that see as metropolitan. Similar claims were put forward from time to time, but the controversy was interrupted in 1176 by Pope Alexander III. commanding the archbishop not to exercise metropolitan jurisdiction over the Scottish church until the question was examined and decided.⁵

⁴ St. Kentigern (*Historians of Scotland*), pp. 123-4.

⁵ Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 18, 206; *Scottish Annals* (Anderson), p. 238; *Reg. Episc.* No. 38. See also *postea*, ch. xii.

In the year 1161 the same Pope had issued three documents relating to Glasgow's ecclesiastical affairs. By a Bull dated 17th January the clergy and people of the bishopric were enjoined to visit the cathedral church yearly, according to the custom observed in the bishopric of St. Andrews and other sees, and on 7th March it was intimated to the dean and chapter that the prebends of canons, for a year after their death, should be given to the poor or applied in satisfaction of the just debts of the deceased canons.⁶ The third document, which is dated 24th June, is included among several royal and papal writs for enforcing the payment of tithes in the several parishes throughout the diocese. As enumerated in one of these documents, teinds were payable from grain, lint, wool, cheese, butter, lambs, victuals, swine, goats and poultry.⁷

During his reign Malcolm had been much troubled by the rebellion and invasions of Somerled, "under-king of Argyle." In 1164 Somerled assembled a fleet of 160 ships and landed at Renfrew with the intention of subduing the whole kingdom, but the invaders were suddenly attacked by the people of the district and sustained an unexpected defeat, and Somerled and his son were slain. This collapse was attributed by the chroniclers to divine interposition, and the author of a curious contemporary poem attributes the chief credit to the merits of St. Kentigern. The poet says that Somerled landed near Glasgow, the people fled, and one Marcus alone of the clerics remained in the church. In answer to a prayer St. Kentigern recalled Bishop Herbert, accompanied by Helias, a canon of the cathedral, and the people, encouraged by the arrival of the

⁶ Under changed circumstances, and with a different destination, there is still in operation a law for the disposal of stipends payable for the first year after the death of parish ministers, that portion of the stipend payable for the current half year falling into the deceased's estate and the remainder, called *annat*, going to his widow and family.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 13, 14, 17, 18; Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 61-63.

bishop, became brave and attacked and slew Somerled. His followers, panic-stricken, fled to their ships, but many were killed. A cleric cut off the head of Somerled and gave it to the bishop, who ascribed the victory to St. Kentigern.⁸ Sometime before 1165 Walter, the Steward, by an undated charter, granted in perpetual alms, for the lights of the church of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, two shillings yearly from the rents of the burgh of Renfrew,⁹ and though this seems to have been in continuance of an Easter donation which had already been bestowed for several years, it is not unlikely that the grant was now formally constituted in gratitude for the assistance rendered by churchmen in quelling Somerled's invasion.

⁸ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 473 ; Fordun's *Chronicle*, i. p. 449.

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 20.

CHAPTER XI

EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP INGELRAM—BARONY COURTS— ERECTION OF BURGHS—RUTHERGLEN

INGELRAM who had been chancellor of the kingdom was, on 20th September, 1164, elected Bishop of Glasgow, in succession to Herbert who died in that year, and he was consecrated by Pope Alexander III. at Sens in France, on 28th October. In a letter of the latter date, addressed to Salomon, the dean, and the canons of Glasgow, and all the clergy and people dwelling in the bishopric, the Pope states that Ingelram had come to him for consecration and had brought letters from Malcolm, the illustrious King of Scots. Although the messenger of the Archbishop of York was present and strongly opposed the proceedings, the Pope, mindful of the necessity, both in spiritual and temporal matters, which threatened the church of Glasgow from the want of a pastor, consecrated the new bishop and cordially commended him to the people in his diocese. Ingelram had succeeded Asceline as archdeacon, in 1160, and had then distinguished himself as one of the leaders of the Scottish church in opposing the claims of the Archbishop of York, conduct which sufficiently accounts for the opposition to his consecration.¹

King Malcolm died in 1165 and was succeeded by his brother, usually styled William the Lion, whose long reign, extending into seven episcopates, lasted till 1214. In these early reigns—those of David, Malcolm and William—the King travelled

¹ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 297-8; Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 84-86, 149.

from place to place attended by a retinue of prelates, earls, churchmen and barons, administering existing laws and sometimes sanctioning new or imported ordinances. Latterly assemblies of King, bishops, earls and barons, and great councils, attended by the "magnates" of the land, come into notice, but it was only after a long course of years that these developed into what could be properly called a National Parliament. Subsidiary to such assemblies and councils, sheriffs and justiciars, bishops of dioceses, abbots of monasteries, and the greater of the crown vassals likewise exercised judicial and administrative functions of varying degree, and throughout the twelfth century these baronial courts increased both in number and power. By an ordinance of King William, passed at Stirling on 14th July, 1180, "throw common consent of prelati, erli and barounis and fre haldaris," it was provided that neither bishops, abbots, earls, barons nor freeholders should hold their courts unless the King's sheriff or his sergeant were summoned thereto to see that the court was rightly held. If, however, neither sheriff nor sergeant should attend, it should be lawful for the baron to hold his court in their absence. The four Pleas of the Crown—murder, rape, robbery and wilful fire-raising—were reserved, and it was specially declared that no baron might hold court of life and limb, "as of jugement of bataile or of water or of het yrn," unless the sheriff or his sergeants were there to see law and justice done.² It may, therefore, be assumed, in the absence of any definite evidence on the subject, that the bishops of Glasgow, by themselves or through their bailies and other officers, were entrusted with the preservation of order and the dispensing of justice throughout their territories, long before the date of any extant record of court procedure or even of any charter bearing on the subject. Such baronial jurisdiction was of course quite apart from the proceedings of the bishop's spiritual or consistorial courts,

² *A.P.S. i. p. 374; Trial by Combat, p. 83.*

presided over by a judge, named the Official, and latterly monopolizing most of the judicial business transacted throughout the diocese.³

It is during William's reign that charters to royal burghs begin to make their appearance, but all such charters, with the exception of that of the burgh of Ayr, were granted to burghs already existing, most of these burghs tracing their constitution and privileges to a time when the soil was either all "folc" or public land, or just beginning to be "boc" or individually owned land and crown property.⁴ As an illustration of the form of such grants it may be mentioned that, by the Rutherglen charter, previously referred to,⁵ King William confirmed to that burgh and to his burgesses there, all customs and rights which they had in the time of King David, and those marches which he granted to them. Then follow the bounds of a wide district which apparently included the whole of the bishop's territory north of the River Clyde and east of the Kelvin, within which area no one was to bring anything for sale unless it was first presented at the burgh. It was also declared that if any one should take away the toll or other rights which belonged to the town in the time of King David, the lord of the land in which such abstracted toll might be attached should assist the officers of Rutherglen in recovering the same and securing the King's rights.⁶ A similar provision as to customs occurs in the charter of erection of the burgh of Ayr, which was granted by William between the years 1202 and 1207. Here also a wide district is assigned for the collection of "toll and other customs," five outlying places, on the boundaries of the shire and commanding the principal roads by which merchandise could be taken to and from the burgh, being named as the stations where the dues were to be given and

³ *The Mediæval Church in Scotland* (Dowden), chap. xviii.

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. p. xxxvii.

⁵ *Antea*, p. 39.

⁶ *Acts of Parliament*, i. p. 86.

received.⁷ The provision as to sale of goods at the burgh is in accordance with an old Burgh law, attributed to William's reign, whereby it is ordained that all merchandise should be presented at the market cross of burghs, and there "preofferit" to the merchants of the burgh, "and the custome therof salbe payit to the king." By another old law it is provided that all dwellers in the country, as well freeholders as peasants, should come with all their moveable wares for sale to no other than the king's market within the sheriffdom where they dwell.⁸

Scottish prelates and monasteries frequently purchased at Rome confirmations of their lands and privileges, and many such writings by the Popes in favour of the church of Glasgow are recorded in the Register of the Bishopric. In this way Pope Alexander III. confirmed to Bishop Ingelram the tenth of the "chan" of lands in Carrick, Kyle and Cunningham, of Strathgrif and Largs, and the eighth penny of fines exacted in the king's courts throughout the bishopric, all of which had been granted by King David, and at the same time the chapel of Roxburgh castle and the churches of Carmichael and Carnwath were confirmed. The year in which this confirmation was obtained is not stated, but it seems to have been after 1164. By another writing of the supposed date 26th April, 1166, the Pope required the patrons of churches in the diocese to present to the bishop persons fit for the cure of souls, and to supply them with becoming stipends. In a Papal Bull dated 5th April, 1170, the church of Glasgow and all its possessions, among which are enumerated a number of churches throughout the diocese, were taken under the protection of St. Peter and the Roman see, and confirmed to the bishop and his successors.⁹ Unless there is some ambiguity in this document it would appear that seventeen of the churches were mensal, the revenues of

⁷ *Ayr Charter*, pp. 1-4.

⁸ *Ancient Laws*, i. pp. 61, 183.

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 24, 26, 27; *Lawrie's Annals*, pp. 111, 149.

such belonging to the bishop, under burden of the maintenance of vicars for the due observance of religious services. Several of these churches, however, such as Glasgow parish, Govan and Cadiho, had already been constituted prebends of members of the chapter. Included in the list of mensal churches are one in the town of the daughter of Sadin (*villa filie Sadin*) and another on the lands of Conclud, but beyond vague references in subsequent confirmatory Papal Bulls and Charters there is no subsequent trace of these churches, and their sites are unknown. *Villa filie Sadin* becomes Inienchedin (and by misprint Mineschadin) in subsequent documents, the prefix "Inien" being the Gaelic equivalent of the Latin "filie," and latterly develops into Schedinestun, now known as Shettleston.

A Papal Bull, dated 25th March, 1172, was addressed to Salomon, the dean, and to the canons of Glasgow, whereby their possessions were confirmed. These comprehended the parish of Glasgow with all its rights, liberties and teinds, as they were given in the time of Bishop John, and with the addition of a ploughgate of land at the burgh of Renfrew which Bishop Herbert gave in augmentation of the prebend; the church of Govan, with the whole of Perdehic; the church of Renfrew, with the teinds and customs which it held from the time of King David; a ploughgate of land in Glasgow, with the church of Cadiho and its pertinents, as in the time of King David; Barlanark, with Budlornac, which Bishop Herbert gave for augmentation of the prebend; the prebend which the same bishop instituted of one measured ploughgate of land in Glasgow and of one-seventh part of the proceeds of the benefices in common which were formerly divided among six canons; the prebend which Bishop John instituted of the teinds of the farms, as well in cheeses as in grain and in other things which came into the bishop's cellar, and of the teind of the eighth penny of the king's pleas. After the enumeration

of these prebends, presumably possessed by members of the cathedral chapter as then constituted, the Bull provides for the bishop and the canons having sole jurisdiction and patronage within the territories of Glasgow, Govan, Partick and Shettleston; and the customs of Sarum which had been adopted in the cathedral by Bishop Herbert were likewise confirmed.¹⁰

Two undated charters were granted by King William to the church, but whether in the time of Bishop Ingelram or in that of one of his successors is uncertain. By the first of these charters the king confirmed to God and St. Kentigern and to the bishop of Glasgow, Conclud, Cader and Badermonoc, with their whole lands and pertinents, which had originally been given by King Malcolm, in perpetual alms. By the second charter the king bestowed forty shillings yearly from the farms of his burgh of Rutherglen, to be applied for the lights of the church.¹

By Badermonoc is understood to be meant the district now included in the parish of Old Monkland. The territory of New Monkland was bestowed by King Malcolm on the monks of Neubotle.² That part of the lands of Old Monkland called Kermil, now Carmyle, had likewise been given by Bishop Herbert to the monks, but after the middle of the thirteenth century these lands were redeemed and dedicated for the sustenance of three chaplains who were to celebrate divine services in the church of Glasgow.³

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 28; Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 151-2. Shettleston is again alluded to *postea* p. 98; and for further particulars and speculations on the subject reference may be made to the Rev. J. F. Miller's paper, *Old Shettleston*, printed in *Transactions of the Old Glasgow Club* (1918-19), vol. iv. pp. 16-24.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 29, 31.

² *Reg. de Neubotle*, p. xxxvi.

³ *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1934, and authorities there cited.

CHAPTER XII

BISHOP JOCELINE—ADDITIONAL LANDS—CONDITION OF SERFDOM

BISHOP INGELRAM died on 2nd February, 1173-4, and his successor, Joceline, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Melrose, was chosen by the clergy, "the people requesting and the king consenting," at Perth, on 23rd May, 1174. Pope Alexander III. confirmed the election, and commanded that consecration should be given to the new bishop elsewhere if it was extremely difficult for him to appear before the Pope. Joceline was accordingly consecrated by the Primate of Denmark in 1175. Retaining the attitude of his predecessors, Joceline resisted the encroachment of York. On 25th January, 1175-6, King Henry held a council at Northampton, at which King William and the bishops of Scotland, as well as the archbishops of Canterbury and York, were present, and the question of jurisdiction was then discussed. The Scottish bishops refused to recognize the archbishop of York as their metropolitan, and the two archbishops having disagreed on the English claims no decision was arrived at till 30th July, 1176, when Joceline obtained from the Pope a command that until he had examined and decided the question the bishops of Scotland should yield no obedience to the archbishop of York, notwithstanding that Henry of England had compelled them to swear obedience to the Anglican church.¹

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 35, 38; Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 298-300; Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 200, 213; *Scottish Annals*, pp. 264-6.



SEAL AND SIGNET OF JOCELINE, BISHOP OF GLASGOW,
1175-1200



ANCIENT CHAPTER SEAL OF GLASGOW, USED
IN THE TIME OF BISHOP JOCELINE

King William had a great desire to add Cumberland and Northumberland to the Scottish kingdom, and when, in 1173, the son of Henry II. rose in rebellion against his father, William gave his support, on the promise of having his wishes in that respect so far gratified. While on a hostile expedition into England, in connection with this movement, William was taken prisoner at Alnwick, in July, 1174, and was not released till the following December, and that on an extorted treaty whereby he became vassal of the English king for the entire extent of his dominion. In this irksome state of subjection William remained during Henry's lifetime, but after the accession of Richard I., who in the course of his crusading career was in urgent need of money to meet the costs of an expedition for achieving the conquest of Jerusalem, negotiations on the subject were renewed, and the "Lion-hearted king" readily accepted ten thousand merks as compensation for restoring the independence of Scotland. In the interval between the Alnwick affair and the restoration accomplished in 1189 William had much to do in keeping down trouble in different parts of his own kingdom, especially in quelling insubordination both in Galloway and in the far north. So far, however, as the bishopric of Glasgow and the town itself were concerned any information we have indicates a progressive state of development and rising importance.

By a Papal Bull addressed to Bishop Joceline, and apparently issued shortly after his election, though as transcribed into the Register bearing the obviously erroneous date 29th April, 1174, the rights of the church of Glasgow to many churches and lands were confirmed, and it was declared that the church was dependent only on Rome. On this subject it may here be added that by a writing addressed to King William; on 13th March, 1188, Pope Clement III. decreed that the Scottish church owed subjection only to the apostolic see, whose spiritual daughter she was, with no intermediary,

and in that church the episcopal see of Glasgow was known to be included.²

As compensation for excesses committed by him against St. Kentigern and the church, after the decease of Bishop Ingelram, King William, by a charter supposed to have been granted between 1175 and 1177, gave to Bishop Joceline lands then called Balain³ or Badlayn, and perhaps to be identified with those now known as Bedlay, situated on the north-east corner of the parish of Cadder and close to the border of Stirlingshire. If this surmise be correct the lands can scarcely have formed part of Cadder parish at the time when Malcolm bestowed the bulk of the lands on the church, but they may have been added to the parish after the date of William's gift. Lying to the north of "Ballain" were lands called Mucraht which William Cumin, baron of Lenzie and lord of Cumbernauld, claimed as belonging to Kirkintilloch and the bishop of Glasgow claimed as belonging to Ballain. An arrangement was concluded, between the years 1200 and 1202, and in presence of the King and his court, at Alyth, Cumin resigned to the bishop all right which he had to the lands.⁴ In the Barony plan of 1773 the place is called Muckcroft.

The several lands acquired by the bishops up till this time seem to have embraced all those which are classified in sixteenth century Rentals as situated within the barony of Glasgow. New names found either in charters or rentals, such as Dalmarnock, Barrowfield, Possil, Kenmore and Ramshorn, usually, if not invariably, imply sub-divisions of land having a general name, though it may be that in some instances lands were acquired of which no trace of acquisition has been preserved either in the Register or in title deeds.

That a section of the native population existed in a state

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 32; *Lawrie's Annals*, pp. 199, 275; *Scottish Annals*, p. 299; *Dowden's Bishops*, pp. 298-9.

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 39.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 90.

of serfdom till at least the thirteenth century is shown by references in old chartularies and registers to their occasional transfer by sale or gift, and one such transaction is noted in the Glasgow Register. By an undated charter, but supposed to be granted between the years 1174 and 1189, King William transferred to the church of St. Kentigern and to Bishop Joceline and his successors Gillemachoi of Conclud, with his children and all his descendants, and the king charged his bailies not to obstruct the transfer.⁵ As a rule, though there were exceptions, the serf was sold only along with the land on which he dwelt, and it is probable that Gillemachoi lived on that part of Conclud which was assigned to the bishop in or about 1170.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 34.

CHAPTER XIII

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BURGH OF GLASGOW

THOUGH the always growing number of people, both clerics and laics, connected with the cathedral and the affairs of the barony, would continue to be accommodated in the vicinity of Rottenrow, there must have been from very early times a community of fishermen, craftsmen and traders occupying dwellings on the lower ground near the banks of the River Clyde, on whom the former class as well as the agricultural and pastoral population of the surrounding district would depend for the supply of commodities. As this commercial and industrial class increased in numbers and importance they must have felt hampered in their pursuits by their relation to the burgh of Rutherglen as the chief market place of the district. A change was desirable, and the bishops eventually secured trading rights for their own people and exemption from outside interference.

It is to the period of the first David's reign that the origin of the royal burghs, with their communities enjoying the exclusive privilege of trade and the right of self government, is usually ascribed.¹ Possessing some features of the municipal

¹ If the rise of burghs in this country could be traced back to their earliest inception it would probably be found that they began as units of a military and political organization in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria while it had its northern boundary at the Forth. Recognized in the twelfth century as a legislative assembly and judicial tribunal the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* was then composed of representatives from the four burghs of Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling. As far back as the ninth century, when the designation burgh signified a fort, and before commerce became prominent, there

organization which characterized the cities of the Roman Empire, these burghs were mainly formed on the model of those which, in the tenth and the eleventh centuries, had come into existence on the continent of Europe, and had been introduced into England after the Norman conquest. Of the total number of eighteen Scottish burghs which claim to have been founded before the end of King David's reign, no fewer than seven—viz. Rutherglen, Lanark, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Jedburgh and Roxburgh—grew up in the district which he first ruled as earl. Each of these burghs was placed on the royal domain, in close proximity to the king's castle, and they probably mark the sites which Earl David used for residence and the exercise of justice even before he succeeded to the throne. The inhabitants of Scottish burghs, termed *burgesses*, were originally crown tenants paying to the king for their holding a yearly rent called *burgh mail*; and though the seven burghs in question might not, strictly speaking, be regarded as *royal* burghs till after the king's accession, the inhabitants may even before that time have been paying their *maills* to the earl's bailies, and enjoying the privileges of free burgesses. Besides their individual holdings, burgesses had usually a considerable tract of land held in *commonty* and used for pasturage or cultivation. But the privileges of the burgesses were not confined within these limits. Often

existed a powerful Danish confederation known as the Five Burghs, composed of the cities of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Leicester and Stamford. The Five Burghs belonged to the Mercian kingdom, and it is not improbable that Northumbria, its not too distant neighbour, was stimulated by the force of imitation or rivalry into the establishment of its four chief strongholds in the north on a similar basis. Neither the original kingdom of Scotia, north of the Forth, nor Cumbria, was at first connected with this confederation; and indeed a somewhat similar combination, known as the Hanse, was established north of the Grampians as early as the time of King David. But in the fifteenth century if not earlier the whole burghs throughout the country began to meet in general conference, and latterly the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* was merged in the Convention of Royal Burghs. The extant records of the Convention begin only in 1552, and Glasgow was represented at their meeting held in that year.

they had the exclusive privilege of buying and selling and of levying custom over a wide extent of country, and many of the early charters provide that goods belonging to the burgesses themselves should be exempt from custom throughout the kingdom. Wool and hides seem at first to have been the staple commodities of commerce, and the subsequent processes of manufacture through which the raw material passed gave employment to craftsmen in the burghs. There are several old burgh laws giving burgesses a monopoly in articles of commerce.

There are no extant charters to burghs of an earlier date than the reign of William the Lion, nor, except in the case of Rutherglen, is there any reference to a charter having been granted to a burgh by King David.² There is, however, reason to believe that the older burgh laws were in operation in David's time, and, indeed, the earlier charters contain much that was received as common burgh law. Though in later times the theory held good that a royal burgh could be erected only by the sovereign it is probable that several, if not all of the burghs in Earl David's domain took form and exercised burghal privileges previous to 1124. Records of burghs are not so complete as are those of the religious houses, and in consequence our knowledge of their origin is more imperfect. Of the four Border abbeys—Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose and Dryburgh—which were founded by David, it is known that at least the two former were in existence before he was king.

The credit of procuring the erection of a burgh at Glasgow belongs to the energetic Bishop Joceline. By a charter which bears no date, but which, from the names of the witnesses, including that of David, the king's brother, is judged to have

² *Antea*, p. 52. Dr. George Neilson has adduced good grounds for holding that Dumfries, one of the seven towns named in the text, did not become a royal burgh till the reign of William the Lion (*Transactions of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 1913-4, pp. 157-76).

been granted between the years 1175 and 1178,³ William authorized Joceline and his successors to have a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday, and with all the freedoms and customs which any of his burghs throughout his whole land possessed. The king also enjoined that all the burgesses resident in the burgh should have his firm peace through his whole land in going and returning, and no one was to be allowed to trouble or molest them or their chattels, or to inflict any injury or damage upon them.⁴

It will be observed that in the Glasgow charter there is neither specification of territory within which custom or toll was leviable, as in the Rutherglen and Ayr charters, nor grant of lands as in the latter charter. There was not even the creation of a burgh, merely authority to the bishop to establish one, though when so established all the privileges pertaining to a royal burgh were to be secured. The reason for this distinction in form was obvious. Rutherglen and Ayr were situated on the king's domain, while Glasgow and its surrounding lands belonged to the bishop. It rested accordingly with the bishop to assign the area to be possessed by the burgesses, and with regard to the territory throughout which custom and toll were to be leviable it was probably intended that the king's customs leviable in the barony should continue to be collected by his bailies of Rutherglen and accounted for to the royal treasury; but, as will afterwards be seen, the place of collection was, in 1226, restricted to Shettleston, and eventually the officers of other burghs were strictly forbidden to take toll or custom within the bishop's territory.⁵ King William's charter

³ At the time this charter was granted the king was holding court at Traquair, then apparently a place of some importance. Though now occupying a sequestered corner in the county of Peebles, Traquair at one time, as is shown by the extant fragments of thirteenth century Exchequer Rolls, gave its name to the shire.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 1, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 12, 27.

was addressed to the bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justiciars, sheriffs, officers, and all good men of his whole land, and though these expressions were to a large extent mere words of style they sufficiently authorized the officers of the bishop and those of the king's burgh of Rutherglen to adjust all necessary details for getting the new burgh into working order. In all essential respects, such as the holding of a weekly market, the enrolment of burgesses and the appointment of bailies and officers, the new burgh was successfully organized; and it may be noted that in the Papal Bull which was granted to Bishop Joceline on 19th April, 1179, Pope Alexander specially took under his protection the burgh of Glasgow, with all its liberties, and confirmed the charter which King William had granted.⁶

Even before the date of the charter the class who subsequently became burgesses must have been in possession of a considerable tract of land for the raising of crops, pasturage of animals and supply of fuel and building material, and the area so occupied, with perhaps some extensions, would naturally become the recognized property of the community. At a later date when the whole territory of which the bishops remained overlords was specified in rentals, the burgesses are entered as possessing a 16 merk land, for which they paid a yearly rent of 16 merks or £10 13s. 4d. Scots, thus placing the community, as regards the occupation of land, in the same category as the other rentallers throughout the barony.

An old burgh law provided that each burgess should give to the king five pence for each rood of land that he possessed, and latterly burghs were allowed to collect and apply such rents to their own uses in consideration of a fixed yearly sum payable to the crown. The rents thus collected were called Burgh Maill, but in the old Glasgow accounts there is no trace of revenue derived from that source. In title deeds there are

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* No. 51.

occasional references to the bishops exacting "ferms" and "burgh maill" from individual holdings, and therefore it appears that in Glasgow such rents were paid to the bishops or their chamberlains direct, without the intervention of the bailies of the burgh.

From the first the burgh market must have been the chief source of municipal revenue. "Ladle" duty, the levying of which was not abolished till 1846, was probably the earliest exaction. In a decree of 1576 it is stated that the magistrates had been in the practice of uptaking a ladleful of each sack of corns or victual coming to the market "past memour of man."⁷ Complying with the old law whereby it was stipulated that all merchandise should be presented at the markets and market crosses of burghs,⁸ one of the earliest requisites in the new burgh of Glasgow must thus have been the erection of a market cross. The site chosen was at the convergence of what long formed the four chief streets of the older part of the city,—High Street and Walkergait or Saltmarket, Gallowgait and Trongait, and it is probable that even in 1175 the booths and primitive dwellings of the burgesses had already begun to be placed on these lines. For the convenient collection of market dues the Tolbooth,—the booth for the collection of toll or custom,—immediately adjoined the cross. The tolbooth was also convenient for the transaction of other branches of municipal business, and in this way the name in course of time became applicable to its usual adjuncts, the jail, council hall and court-house. Adjoining these premises likewise stood the old chapel of St. Mary already referred to.

It is not till nearly a hundred years after the foundation of the burgh that the names of any of the magistrates appear on record, but in a charter supposed to be granted in or before 1268,⁹ relating to proceedings in the burgh Court, three of

⁷ *Glas. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 166.

⁸ *Ancient Laws*, i. p. 61.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 17-19. As to date see ch. xxiii. *postea*.

the witnesses are designated, in the Latin, *Prepositi*. The old burgh laws contain many provisions as to the *Prepositi*, a designation which in Sir John Skene's sixteenth or early seventeenth century edition is variously translated aldermen, "burrowgresis" and bailies, and though in later times, when most burghs had a provost at the head of the municipality, *prepositus* is correctly translated provost, the early *prepositi* were really the bailies of the period. At the first court after the feast of St. Michael in each year the *prepositi* were to be chosen, through the counsel of the good men of the town, or in other words the bailies were to be chosen by the whole body of burgesses assembled at the head court which was held after Michaelmas yearly. That a similar mode of election was practised in Glasgow is quite probable, though the bishop, either from the beginning or under some subsequent arrangement, was entrusted with the final selection from a leet presented to him.

Another early ordinance directed that for the administration of the burgh laws and customs, "in ilk burgh of the kynrick," there should be appointed twelve of "the lelest burges and of the wysast of the burgh," a provision under which councillors, usually nominated by magistrates elected by the community, were assigned a position in municipal government, though neither as regards numbers, nor mode of election, was there any hard and fast line observed in the different burghs. According to statutes of the first half of the thirteenth century, at first enacted for regulating the Guild of the merchants of Berwick, but soon adopted as authoritative among the Scottish burghs in general, the town was to be governed by twenty-four good men, together with the mayor and four bailies (*prepositis*).¹⁰ So numerous a body of councillors as twelve or twenty-four would be superfluous in most

¹⁰ *Ancient Laws*, i. pp. 34, 54, 81; *Historical MS. Commission, Berwick on Tweed* (1901), p. 14; *Scott's History of Berwick*, pp. 465-9.

burghs, and it may be supposed that each would adapt the number to its own requirements. In the case of Glasgow it is not till the middle of the sixteenth century that extant records supply anything like full knowledge on municipal procedure, but the mode of election then observed is quite reconcilable with the likelihood of elections having been regulated by the ordinary burgh laws in use for the time.

As supplementary to the trading facilities afforded by weekly markets, special privileges were enjoyed during the time of annual fairs, for the holding of which authority was frequently conferred on burghs. A few years after the burgh of Glasgow was established, probably between the years 1189 and 1198, King William authorised Bishop Joceline and his successors to have a fair at Glasgow, for eight full days from the octaves of St. Peter and St. Paul (7th July), with the sovereign's firm and full peace, and with all the liberties and rights granted or belonging to any fair in any of his burghs. By another charter granted ten days before the beginning of a fair, the date being 27th June, with the year not stated, the same king gave his firm peace to all who should come to the fair, for repairing thither, there standing and thence returning, provided they did what they ought to do justly and according to the laws of his burghs and his land.¹ The fixing of this fair was in keeping with medieval custom, fairs being usually appointed in connection with saints' days or other religious festivals, or in commemoration of the dedication of churches. The cathedral church of Glasgow, built by Bishop John, was consecrated on 7th July, 1136, and it was probably the practice in Glasgow as in other places, for tradesmen and merchants to bring their wares for sale to a convenient space in the vicinity of the church on the anniversary of that event, when large crowds were likely to be collected from the surround-

¹ *Glasgow Charters*, i. pt. ii. pp. 6, 7.

ing districts.² The day of St. Peter and St. Paul was 29th June, and the octave of that festival fell on 7th July and continued for eight days thereafter. This practice was observed till the year 1744, when the magistrates and council, taking into consideration that "the Sabbath intervening in these eight days stops and interrupts the course of the fair," resolved that in future, instead of the fair beginning on a fixed day in the Calendar it should begin on the first Monday of July and finish on the following Saturday. No subsequent regulation on the subject has been passed, but the transition, in 1752, from the old to the new style, operated indirectly in producing a change, and the fair, established upwards of seven centuries ago, is still held in July, but now begins on the second Monday of the month.³

For the period prior to the latter half of the sixteenth century there is little information obtainable with regard to the Fair, but at the time when the extant Council Records begin it seems to have been the practice to hold an open-air court of the burgh upon the "Fair-even," and there to make all necessary arrangements. The spot appropriated for holding this court adjoined the Place of the Grey Friars a little to the west of the High Street, a piece of rocky ground called variously Craigmak, Craigmacht or Craignaught.⁴ Here, on 6th July, 1574 (being the earliest July of which any Town Council minute is preserved), the court was held at "Craigmak," and the provost, bailies, council and community ordained every booth-holder to have within his booth a halbert, jack and steel-bonnet, in readiness for his taking part in quelling any disturbances that might arise, "conforme to the auld statute maid thairanent." The proclamation of the Fair took double form, as in 1581, when the

² *Glasgow Charters*, i. pt. i. p. 8.

³ *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 205-6.

⁴ The prefix seems to have been derived from a ridge of whinstone running through the ground, and perhaps "mach," a field, might account for the second part of the place name.

officer of the barony proclaimed the peace of the fair on the Green and the burgh officer did the same upon the market cross. By these announcements all the king's lieges, frequenting the fair, were charged not "to do ony hurt or trublenes ane to ane uther, for auld debt or new debt, auld feid or new feid, bot leif peceable and use their merchandice and exchange under Goddis peace and our Soverane Lordis protection." ⁵

⁵ *Glasgow Rec.* i. pp. 18, 88 ; *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 204-5.

CHAPTER XIV

EARLY STREETS AND BUILDINGS—POSSESSIONS OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES

By general assent Rottenrow is regarded as the oldest street in Glasgow, and the opinion that it occupied the line of a Roman highway may also be accepted as sound. The Roman road from the south, through Clydesdale, approached Rottenrow by the street, which having crossed the Molendinar Burn by a bridge was, in contrast to other lanes which led to fords, named Drygait, or in its Latinised form, *Via Arida*. The precise route of the Roman road westward, after leaving Rottenrow, is not definitely known, but that it passed through Partick is probable, both on account of its destination being in that direction and from the fact that the westward continuation of Rottenrow is called in early title deeds the way which led to "Partwich."¹ This Partick road must either have crossed, or, for a short distance northward, joined the track long known as the Cow Lone, and in modern times called Queen Street, with its continuations of Buchanan Street and Garscube Road. The cattle which daily left the town and took their way along this old track reached the outskirts of their destination at Cowcaddens,² adjoining which, on the north, was the

¹ *Lib. Coll.* etc. p. 258.

² In the earliest preserved report on perambulation of the town's marches (1 June 1574), the Cow Lone is called "the passage that passis to the quarrell and muir and the commone pasturis" (*Glasgow Rec.* i. p. 13). A short distance north of Rottenrow the road divided Little Cowcaddens on the east from Meikle Cowcaddens on the west. These lands were in the

Summerhill, where one of the burgh's open-air courts was annually held. Here the magistrates and community were wont to assemble on the first day of a week about the middle of June, and to pass resolutions on their common affairs, while the more active exercise of "wapinschawing" was sometimes combined with the day's proceedings. At the east end of Rottenrow, where it joined the Drygait, these streets were intersected by the roadway leading northward to the cathedral and beyond, and southward to the market cross. To the north there were probably several buildings occupied by churchmen and their dependents, but towards the south, where sufficient open space was left for accommodating the Black and Grey Friars when these bodies were planted in Glasgow, the built area must for a long time have been small in extent. South of the market cross was the Walkergait (an early name for the present Saltmarket Street): it was obviously so called from its being regularly traversed by the weavers and other workers in cloth who frequented the Waulk Mill, which derived its water power either from Camlachie Burn or Molendinar Burn, or from both combined, below the point of their confluence. At the foot of Walkergait the Bridgegait turned off to the crossing over the River Clyde which led to the old village of Gorbals.

From the north end of the bridge which is known to have been erected at this spot before the end of the thirteenth century,

possession of the Bishop's rentallers, and being described as a 6s. 8d. land and a 13s. 4d. land respectively, may be regarded as together extending to about 52 acres. Little Cowcaddens, separated from the Subdean's lands of Provanside by Glasgow burn, on the south, had the rentalled lands of Broomhill on the north. Meikle Cowcaddens had the parson of Erskine's lands of Blythswood on the south, the boundary being somewhat on the line of the present Sauchiehall Street, and the rentalled lands of Woodside on the west. On the north were Summerhill and Wester Common, belonging to the community, and embracing the quarries and pasture land to which the burgesses had access by the Cow Lone and its continuation. Philologists are divided in opinion as to the origin of the name Cowcaddens, which appears in the Bishops' Rental book as "Kowcawdennis" in 1510, "Cowcaldens" in 1552, and elsewhere in varying forms. Available information seems too scant for arriving at a satisfactory definition.

but how much earlier cannot be ascertained, a street called at first Fishergait, and latterly Stockwell Street, was frequented by fishermen who got water supplies from a "stock" or wooden well which gave name to that thoroughfare. Westward from the market cross was the important street called, alternatively, Lady-gait, from the chapel of the Virgin Mary which stood on the north side, or St. Tenews-gait, from its leading to the Chapel of St. Tenew, and latterly Trongate, from the tron or weighing place erected on its south side not far from the market cross.

One other street, that of Gallowgait, extending eastward of the cross, probably completes the list of the main thoroughfares in the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. The last mentioned gait passed through a considerable stretch of land which it divided into Over and Nether Gallowmuir, and at its east end approached a piece of ground called "the Gallow Aiker" which, towards the end of the sixteenth century, was in the possession of the "marshall of the barony and regality of Glasgow."³ As the name implies, and documents substantiate, it was in this district that there were carried out on malefactors the sentences pronounced in the exercise of the "pit and gallows" jurisdiction⁴ conferred by implied or expressed grant in the charters to the bishops as lords of the regality, or to the magistrates of the burgh.

Ports or gates were placed at the entrances to the principal streets, with the view not only of facilitating the collection of burgh customs but also of keeping out unwelcome visitors, especially in times of pestilence. In the upper part of the town were the Rottenrow port, North or Stable-green port and Drygate port, the last-named being erected at the bridge over the Molendinar burn. In the streets branching from the market cross, and at short distances from this centre (thus indicating the restricted area over which buildings

³ *Glasgow Prot.* No. 2411.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 393.

extended), ports were placed in the Walkergait, Trongait and Gallowgait. Occasionally ports were removed to new sites so as to include building extensions, but latterly, under changed conditions, the ports became unnecessary for their original purposes, and were one by one removed as obstructions of street traffic.⁵

Though we have no contemporary warrant for setting down the precise lines of streets or the extent of the built area in the end of the twelfth century, there is some ground for supposing that the town had by that time assumed the form here indicated. And even if so fully developed a position had not yet been attained, there can be little doubt, from the evidence adduced by early title-deeds, that the formative process was well advanced and that at a very early period the inhabited area of Glasgow was laid out in the way described.

It happens that the title-deed of a property in the burgh, supposed to date between the years 1179 and 1199, has been recorded among the charters of Melrose Abbey. By this document Bishop Joceline gave to his former church of St. Mary of "Maylros," and to the monks serving God there, in free and perpetual alms, that toft⁶ in the burgh of Glasgow which Ranulph of Hadintun built in the first building of the burgh.⁷ Another writing, authenticated with the common

⁵ The foregoing particulars as to streets and ports perhaps suffice at this stage. Fuller information will be found in the topographical chapters of *Glasgow Memorials*.

⁶ "Toft," a dwelling with a piece of land attached.

⁷ "Illud toftum in burgo de Glasgu quod Ranulfus de Hadintun edificavit in prima edificatione burgi" (*Glasgow Charters*, i. pt. ii. p. 5). This quotation is of special interest on account of its allusion to the beginnings of Glasgow as a burgh. The Bishop had recently obtained the king's authority to have a burgh, with a weekly market and privileges such as other burghs possessed. When Bishop John was about to set the municipal machinery of St. Andrews in motion he obtained the services of Mainard, a burgess of Berwick, where he had acquired a knowledge of burgh usages, and it is not unlikely that Ranulf had come from Haddington to Glasgow in a similar capacity (*Glasgow Memorials*, p. 68).

seal of the burgh and transcribed into Melrose chartulary, sets forth that on 8th October, 1325, an "inquest" had found that Thomas of Hall was rightful heir of certain lands in the town of Glasgow and that possession had been given to him, subject to approval by the abbot for his interest. It may therefore be inferred that by this time the monks had leased or feued their Glasgow property and that it had come into the possession of Thomas of Hall by inheritance. In another document, dated 10th May, 1454, a tenement on the south side of the street of "St. Tenew" is described as bounded on the east by the land of the lord abbot of Melros, being presumably the twelfth century toft and identifiable with a property belonging to the Hall family, and described as a tower or fortalice and orchard lying on the south side of Argyle Street and west side of Stockwell Street, the site of which, in the sixteenth century, was disposed of in building lots.⁸

One of the witnesses named in Joceline's charter to Melrose was Hugh, abbot of Neubottle, and it was possibly at the time of that grant that the bishop gave to the church of St. Mary of Neubottle, and to the monks serving God there, a full toft in the burgh of Glasgow, in free and perpetual alms. To this charter Arnald, abbot of Melrose, was a witness.⁹ The monks of Neubottle subsequently acquired other properties in the burgh, and these are supposed to have formed part of a toft which, with the fishing of one net in the river Clyde, Bishop Joceline gave to the Knights Templars. The Knights by a charter, granted between the years 1175 and 1179, gave to William Gley, their man (*homini nostro*) the toft and fishing,

⁸ See *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 2, 3, 68-70, where the identification is more fully explained. From the Rental of Melrose Abbey lands it appears that a yearly sum of 20s. was derived from Glasgow, and this may have been the rent or feu-duty exacted from Ranulf's toft. (*Melrose Regality Records—Scottish History Society*, 2nd Series, vol. 13, p. 241.)

⁹ *Reg. de Neubottle*, No. 175.

to be held by him and his heirs of the Templars for payment of twelve pence yearly.¹⁰ It seems to have been part of this property which, by an undated charter, authenticated with the burgh seal, William Gley, designated burgess of Glasgow, transferred to the monks of Neubottle. The ground thus conveyed is described as lying in the town of Glasgow, between the land which Gley bought from the executors of John Alison and the land of William Scloyder, and the granter bound himself to warrant the property to the monks according to the law of the burgh. The rent payable to the Bishop was tenpence yearly. Under proceedings in the burgh Court, in 1295, the monks acquired from Gley's successors a property described as lying in the Fishergait, between the land of William Scloyder on the south and the land of John Williamson, called Bradhy, on the north.¹ Assuming, therefore, that these properties were included in the Templars' toft, they may, at least to some extent, be identified with the property on the west side of Stockwell Street, over which, in the sixteenth century, the Knights of St. John, as successors of the Templars, were still exercising their separate jurisdiction.²

In connection with these twelfth century grants it may be mentioned that in early times it was customary for the heads of religious houses to possess dwellings in the more important towns throughout the country. Many of these holdings were originally Crown gifts, the object being to enable the great church lords to accompany the Sovereign in his frequent changes of residence, as well as to secure responsible and improving tenants in the new burghs.³ By royal grants the Bishops of Glasgow owned a toft in each of the burghs of Montrose, Dumfries, Forfar and Stirling.⁴ King William gave to the monks of Aberbrothock a toft in each of his burghs and

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 41.

¹ *Reg. de Neubottle*, No. 177.

² *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 67.

³ Cosmo Innes, *Early History*, p. 35.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 33, 50, 74, 77.

residences, and it is not improbable that Glasgow, which of old had its chapel of St. Thomas, likewise contained a dwelling for the accommodation of the monks of the great northern monastery. But to conclude the list of known possessions of the class referred to it has to be noted that the Abbey of Paisley had at least three properties in the city, one called the Monks' House at the corner of High Street and Rottenrow, another is described in the Abbey rental as the " ynnis before the Black Freris," and the third consisted of a tenement in Stockwell Street.⁵

⁵ *Paisley Abbey. Appx. p. clv; Registrum de Passelet, pp. 399-401, 433-4.* The Monks' House was sometimes called " the hous at the Wynd-heid."

CHAPTER XV

CHURCH BUILDING—BISHOP JOCELINE

THERE is neither any record of the destruction of the church erected by Bishop John nor any reference to new works till Joceline's time, but it is supposed that the earliest portion of the existing fabric was constructed during Ingelram's episcopate. This portion, consisting of a mere fragment, is to be found about twenty feet from the west end of the south aisle of the present Lower Church, and it is apparently part of the east gable of the original south aisle.¹ It is stated in the Melrose Chronicle that in 1181 "Bishop Joceline enlarged his episcopal residence and magnificently extended the church of St. Kentigern";² and Wyntoun repeats the story:

"A thowsand a hundyr foure scor and ane
Fra Jhesu Cryst had manhed tane,
Joce, than Byschape off Glasgw.
Rowmyt the kyrk off Sanct Mongw."³

On the assumption that the work of John and subsequent bishops still remained entire it has been supposed that Joceline began the erection of a nave as an addition to the already existing choir, but that before the work was far advanced it was interrupted in consequence of the completed portions being destroyed by fire. Contemporary evidence as to the rebuilding which was going on a few years later has

¹ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), p. 10.

² *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 139.

³ Wyntoun, ii. p. 214.

been preserved in a charter granted by King William, between 1189 and 1192. At this time the bishop was engaged in restoring the fabric which, as mentioned in the charter, had been "in these our days" consumed by fire. Acting with the co-operation or counsel of the abbots, priors and other clergy in the bishopric, Joceline had constituted a "fraternity" or society for the raising of funds and promotion of the work, and the king, characterizing the church of Glasgow as the mother of many nations, hitherto lowly and narrow, which he now desired to widen, ratified the scheme and took it and all engaged in the work under the royal protection.⁴ The new church, which was sufficiently advanced to be dedicated for divine worship on 6th July, 1197,⁵ probably consisted of no more than the partially completed choir, though the construction of a nave and transepts was also commenced. Much progress, however, does not seem to have been made with the work, either by Joceline himself or by his three immediate successors in the bishopric, and building operations on an extensive scale were not resumed till the time of Bishop William of Bondington, the founder of the existing choir and lower church.

It is generally believed that the chief purpose which Bishop Joceline had in view in getting his namesake, a monk of Furness Abbey, in Lancashire, to compile a biography of St. Kentigern, was the rousing of enthusiasm over Glasgow's patron saint so as to promote the collection of funds for erection of the church which was to be so intimately associated with his name. Monk Joceline was experienced in such work,

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 541. "A.D. 1197, Joceline, bishop of Glasgow, dedicated his cathedral church, which he had built anew, upon Sunday, the day before the nones of July, in the 24th year of his episcopate" (*Melrose Chronicle: Church Historians of England*, vol. iv. pt. i. p. 147). "In 1197 the cathedral, a new building, begun by Bishop Herbert, was consecrated by Jocelin, two other bishops assisting." (Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 299.) *St. Kentigern*, p. 308.

having already written a life of St. Patrick and biographical narratives of other saints, thus justifying his selection for the purpose which the bishop had in hand. The means adopted by the author for obtaining information have been referred to in a previous chapter, and reference need only be made here to the terms in which "the least of the poor ones of Christ" speaks of "his most reverend lord and dearest father Joceline, an anointed bishop of the Lord Jesus Christ." Allusion is made to the fame of the bishop's name, the loftiness of his office, the even balance of his judgment, his life which was darkened by no shadow of evil report and his long tried religion, all giving sufficient reason for believing that he was the ornament of the House of the Lord over which he presided, while the first-fruits of the gatherings for the Life of St. Kentigern, then offered to the bishop, were redolent of the glory of himself and the church.⁶ But apart from the monk's somewhat high-flown dedication enough is known of Bishop Joceline to mark him out as a man of great ability, and as one who during the twenty-five years of his episcopate was highly successful in promoting the best interests, both temporal and spiritual, of the wide district over which he exercised his authority. Of all his endeavours perhaps that which has been most permanently beneficial was the establishment of a burgh at Glasgow; but the matters which attracted most attention in his own day were probably those connected with ecclesiastical affairs throughout the see, and, most prominent of all, the rebuilding of the cathedral.

In those days it was considered desirable to have repeated assurances of protection from Rome, and Joceline was successful in obtaining, within a period of twelve years and from three successive Popes, a series of Papal Bulls, whereby there were confirmed to the Bishop and his successors all their goods and possessions, whether acquired by gift of the Popes, bounty

⁶ *St. Kentigern*, p. 29.

of the Kings or Princes, offerings of the faithful, or in any other lawful manner. In addition to this general classification there was usually a special enumeration of existing possessions, and in this way Pope Urban, in a bull dated 12th June, 1186, specified "the place itself in which the church was situated," with its pertinents, the Burgh of Glasgow with all its liberties, as granted by King William, and lands named in a list and situated within Glasgow barony, "with all the churches of the said lands, chapels and other pertinents." Next came a list of nineteen churches and seven chapels, situated in different parts of the diocese, with, it is added, all other churches and chapels; and this was followed by a general ratification of lands in Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Annandale, and above a dozen other districts, along with the teinds payable from the King's "can" in Kyle and Carrick, the eighth of the King's pleas in courts throughout the bishopric, and the tofts and lands in the King's burghs belonging to the church.

Among regulations dealing with diocesan management and ecclesiastical discipline, passed between 1181 and 1187, during the rule of Pope Lucius and that of his successor, Pope Urban, is a declaration that in cases of disputed patronage of benefices the decision of the bishop should be final; and by another provision, the object of which was to secure regularity in the performance of religious services, patrons were not allowed to hold churches in their own hand when they were vacant or to institute parsons therein without authority of the bishop, while bishops had right to appoint to benefices if vacancies were not filled up within three months. Appointments to churches were not to be made till vacancies occurred, and priests' sons occupying churches which their fathers had held before them were liable to removal, except in cases of approved character and long possession. There was also a curious prohibition against Churchmen pledging

their benefices for money borrowed from the Jews or other usurers.⁷

In consequence of a dispute with Pope Alexander III., regarding an appointment to the bishopric of St. Andrews, King William was excommunicated in 1181, and his kingdom laid under an interdict. The Pope died shortly afterwards, and in the Melrose Chronicle of the year 1182 it is related that Bishop Joceline, along with the abbots of Melrose and Kelso, "with many other men of consequence," went to Rome upon the affairs of the king and kingdom, and after accomplishing their mission they returned home, bringing with them, from Pope Lucius to King William, the Golden Rose along with his paternal blessing.⁸ Peace being thus secured in that quarter William seems to have thereafter kept on good terms with the successive heads of the church, and it is stated that in a letter addressed to him, on 13th March, 1187-8, Pope Clement III. announced that the Scottish Church was taken under the immediate protection of the papal see.⁹

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 54, 58-65.

⁸ *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 139.

⁹ Dunbar's *Scottish Kings* (1899), p. 80 ; Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 298-9.

CHAPTER XVI

KING WILLIAM'S BURGHAL LEGISLATION

IN the collections of ancient statutes an attempt has been made to distinguish those attributable to the reign of King William ; and of the legislation so marked a few chapters, specially applicable to burghs, contain provisions substantially identical with clauses in the charters of that period granted to various individual burghs. By one of these laws the merchants of the realm were authorized to have a merchant guild, with liberty to buy and sell in all places within the liberties of burghs, so that each one should be content with his own liberty and that none should occupy or usurp the liberty of another.¹ This seems to mean that the merchants within the trading liberties of any particular burgh were entitled to form themselves into a fraternity, and it was in this way that merchant guilds were constituted in actual practice. In Glasgow the provisions of the general law were not incorporated in any burgh charter till 1636, long before which time the merchants had been classed together, first perhaps as an ordinary association and latterly as a guildry with a dean at its head.²

By another statute it was ordained that no prelate or churchman, earl, baron or secular person, should presume to buy wool, skins, hides or such like merchandise, but goods of that sort were to be sold only to merchants of the burgh within whose sheriffdom and liberty the owners dwelt. To secure

¹ *Ancient Laws*, i. p. 60. ² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1662 ; *Glas. Rec.* i. pp. 95, 96.

the due observance of this provision all merchandise was to be offered to the merchants at the market and market cross of the burgh, and such king's custom as was exigible was thereupon to be paid. By a separate law, perhaps of later date than that of William, all dwellers in the country, as well freeholders as peasants, having marketable wares for sale, were directed to bring such to the king's market within the sheriffdom where they happened to dwell. Under this statute, if in operation before 1175, the market to be frequented by dwellers in Glasgow barony would be that of Rutherglen, and it is known that, whether under the statute or not, officials of the burgh of Rutherglen collected the king's custom in the barony both before and for some time after the founding of the burgh of Glasgow. But the Glasgow market, possessing in other respects all the privileges conferred by statute or burghal usage, would be exclusively resorted to by the barony traders, and though local customs would be exacted there it is probable, from what is known of subsequent practice, that the king's custom would be gathered elsewhere.

With regard to foreign trade it was ordained that no merchant of another nation should buy or sell any kind of merchandise elsewhere than within a burgh, and such trading was to be conducted chiefly with merchants of the burgh and ships belonging to them. Foreign merchants arriving with ships and merchandise were not to "cut claith or sell in penny worthis," but were to dispose of their goods wholesale to merchants of the burgh. Such provisions can scarcely have been of much benefit to Glasgow till a long time after the beginning of the thirteenth century, and they are not imported into the early charters of the burgh. But, as was shown in the negotiations which Glasgow subsequently had with Renfrew and Dumbarton, the merchants of the burgh were acknowledged to be entitled to the privileges conferred not only by the general law adopted in William's reign but also by the implied

terms of the burgh's own charters. Thus in an action of declarator by Glasgow against Dumbarton, decided by the Court of Session in favour of Glasgow, on 8th February, 1666, it was pleaded that, as a necessary and essential point of the freedoms conferred by King William's charter of 1175-8, the burgh had the right and privilege of merchandizing, sailing out and in with ships, barks, boats and other vessels upon the Clyde, and arriving, loading and unloading goods at places convenient within the river.³

Engrossed in the Register of Glasgow Bishopric, in thirteenth century handwriting, are a few ordinances corresponding with privileges granted by King William to some of the royal burghs, but none of these provisions have been embodied in the Glasgow charters, the general law being considered of sufficient application. The enactments referred to provide (1) That no one residing outwith a burgh should have a brew-house, unless he had the privilege of "pit and gallows," and in that case one brewhouse only; (2) no one residing outwith a burgh was allowed to make cloth, dyed or cut; (3) no one travelling with horses or cows, or the like, was to be interfered with if he pastured his beasts outwith meadow or standing corn; and (4) no bailie or servant of the king was to have a tavern in the burgh or to be allowed to sell bread or bake it for sale.⁴

In addition to the forty shillings, yearly, which he had previously given from the fermes of the burgh of Rutherglen, for the lights of the cathedral, King William, in the time of Bishop Joceline, had from the same source bestowed three merks yearly for the sustentation of the dean and subdean. To this latter grant other three merks were added, in the time

³ *Ancient Laws*, i. pp. 60-62, 183; *River Clyde* (1909), p. 1. King William's statutes above referred to are summarised and renewed in a charter by King David II. to his burgesses throughout Scotland, dated 28th March, 1364 (*Convention Records*, i. pp. 538-41).

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 536; *Ancient Laws*, i. 97-98.

of Bishop William, so that the dean and subdean might be decently provided with surplices and black capes conform to the statute of the church ; and by a charter, granted between the years 1200 and 1202, the king charged his *prepositi* of Rutherglen, on behalf of himself and of Alexander, his son, to pay the six merks yearly to the clerics within the church of St. Kentigern.⁵ In connection with these church grants it may also here be noted that Robert of London, son of the king, gave out of his lands of Cadihou a stone of wax, to be delivered at Glasgow fair, yearly, for the lights of the cathedral.⁶

Bishop Joceline died at his old abbey of Melrose on 17th March, 1198-9, and was buried there, in the monks' choir. Then followed, within the short space of eight years, the placing of no fewer than four of his successors. Hugh de Roxburgh, chancellor of Scotland, though elected, was probably not consecrated, as he did not survive Joceline as much as four months. William Malvoisine, who also was chancellor and held the office of archdeacon of St. Andrews, next succeeded. He was, by command of the Pope, consecrated by the archbishop of Lyons, in that city, on 24th September, 1200, but he was translated to St. Andrews on 20th September, 1202. Florence, a nephew of King William, being son of his sister Ada and of Florence III., count of Holland, seems to have been elected in 1202. In the following year he was designated bishop elect and chancellor of the king, but he was never consecrated, and he resigned before December, 1207. The next bishop, Walter, chaplain of the king, was elected on 9th December, 1207. He was, by leave of the Pope, consecrated at Glasgow on 2nd November, 1208, and held the bishopric for the fairly long period of twenty-four years.⁷

In the latter years of King Richard of England, with whom he always remained on terms of friendship, William had in

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 92.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 49.

⁷ Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 299-301.

vain endeavoured to recover Northumberland and Cumberland, and after John succeeded to the English throne, in 1199, these attempts were renewed with no better success. Another subject of contention arose in consequence of English schemes for the erection of a fortress at the mouth of the Tweed, all of which were frustrated by the Scots, but though, in 1209, armies had been raised on each side, the two kings were in no warlike mood, and an amicable arrangement was adjusted through the mediation of their barons. Troubles, however, were not wholly extinguished in some of the outlying districts of the country. In the extreme southwest peace had been maintained since the settlement with Roland, lord of Galloway, in 1185, but the northern counties were not yet pacified. In 1196-8 three successive campaigns against rebels in the earldom of Caithness resulted in the complete overthrow of Earl Harald and his insurgent forces ; and in the year 1211 a similar result was secured in the Ross district by the defeat of Guthred MacWilliam, a Celt who claimed the Scottish throne through descent from Malcolm Canmore.

King William died at Stirling in 1214 and was buried at Arbroath in the abbey which had been founded by himself in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

“ Oure Kyng off Scotland Schyr Williame
 Past off this warld till his lang hame,
 To the joy off Paradys,
 (Hys body in Abbyrbroth lyis)
 Efftyre that he had lyvyd here
 King crownyd than nere fyfty yhere.” ⁸

During the visit of William de Malvoisin to Lyons for his consecration he seems to have asked information for his guidance in the management of his bishopric, and a letter he received on the subject from John de Belmeis, a former arch-

⁸ Wyntoun, ii. p. 228. See also the remarks of a contemporary of the king in *Melrose Chronicle*, p. 155.



SEAL AND SIGNET OF FLORENCE, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1202-7.

bishop of Lyons, has been preserved. At the outset of his letter the ex-archbishop expresses his belief that Bishop William will find, on his return journey, men much more wise and prudent than he was to afford the desired information, especially while passing through the city of Paris "where there is no doubt you can find many who are skilled both in divine and human law." But he proceeded to explain the plan he himself had followed, in accordance with the example of his predecessors and the experience of his own times. The see of Lyons, said the archbishop, "has the very ample jurisdiction which you call 'barony'," and there was a seneschal to whom was entrusted the responsibility for legal business, and who dealt not merely with pecuniary causes but saw to the punishment of crimes and serious offences, in accordance with the custom of the country. "But," adds the archbishop, "if the nature of the offence inferred either the penalty of the gibbet, or the cutting off of members, I took care that not a word of this was brought to me." It was the seneschal, with his assessors, who decided about such matters, though it was the archbishop who gave them authority to take up and decide them, and whatever revenue was derived from causes of that kind was carried to his account, after deducting the perquisites of his seneschal, who was entitled to a third of the proceeds for his trouble. On another branch of Bishop William's inquiry, the late archbishop stated that clerics, and especially such as had been advanced to holy orders, were strictly prohibited from prosecuting in a secular court cases of robbery or theft, or if they could not avoid that they were on no account to proceed to single combat, or the ordeal of red-hot iron, or of water, or any procedure of that sort.⁹

⁹ The ordinance by King William as to the "judgement of bataille or of water or of het yrn," in this country, is referred to *antea*, p. 51. Facsimiles (one third of original height) are here given of pages of *Glasgow Pontifical Book*, preserved in the British Museum. No. 1 facsimile shews, in ritual of hot-iron ordeal, the consecration of the iron. No. 2 shews (on foreshortened page

It is long after this time before any direct information is obtainable as to the mode of government followed in Glasgow barony, unless something may be learned from King Alexander's confirmation of the Bishop's lands in free forest, in 1241; but according to fifteenth century practice, a bailie and his deputes are found exercising somewhat similar authority to that assigned to the seneschal of Lyons and his assessors in 1200, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that a like system may have prevailed in Glasgow during the intervening period.

No prohibition against duelling by churchmen, such as that enjoined abroad, seems to have been in operation in this country till a few years after the date of the archbishop's letter. By a Bull obtained on 23rd March, 1216, at a time when Malvoisin, then bishop of St. Andrews, was in Rome, and directed to all the faithful of Christ throughout the province of York and the kingdom of Scotland, Pope Innocent III. stated that it had come to his ears that a certain baneful custom, which should rather be called an abomination, as being utterly in defiance of law and of the credit of the church, had from of old established itself within the kingdom of England and of Scotland and was still wrongfully adhered to, namely, that if a bishop, abbot, or any cleric, happened to be challenged for any of the grounds of offence in respect of which a duel was wont to take place among laymen, he who was challenged, however much a cleric he might be, was compelled personally to undergo the ordeal of duel. The Pope, therefore, utterly detesting the custom, as offensive to God and the sacred canons, commanded that no one thenceforward, under pain of anathema, should presume to persist in the practice. But

to left) in ritual of hot-water ordeal the adjuration of the water, and (on full page to right) direction as to immersion of the accused man's hand. The photographs for these facsimiles have been kindly lent by Dr. George Neilson who procured them in illustration of his Rhind Lectures on Scottish Feudal Traits.

this papal fulmination did not alter the law of the land, and twenty years after its date the bishops and clergy of England are found seeking to procure from the kings of England and Scotland exemption from liability to wager of battle.¹⁰

So far as statutory law was concerned the burgesses of royal burghs seem to have had greater protection from the call to battle than the clergy could claim. There was nothing to prevent two burgesses of the same town settling their quarrel by an appeal to arms, but if a rustic, or non-resident burgess, challenged a resident burgess, the latter was not bound to fight, and was entitled to defend himself in the burgh court. If, however, the challenge came from the resident burgess the outside party had to defend himself by battle, and in such a case that had to be fought outside the burgh.¹

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 110; *Statutes of the Scottish Church: Scottish History Society*, vol. 54, pp. 288-93; Neilson's *Trial by Combat*, pp. 122-6.

¹ Other privileges are noted in *Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts* (Scottish Burgh Records Society), pp. 12, 13.

CHAPTER XVII

GLASGOW AND DUMBARTON—ROYAL MINT

ALEXANDER II. was only in his seventeenth year when he came to the throne, but being apparently well guided, alike by his own discretion and the prudence of his advisers, his rule marked the beginning of that course of prosperity which earned for the combined reigns of himself and his successor the distinction of being called the golden age of Scottish history. But during the first three years, at a time when King John of England was continuing the struggle with his barons, the latter offered the northern counties of England to Alexander in return for his assistance, and through the revival of this old contention complications were threatened. Scottish armies were led south and frontier hostilities lasted for some time, but through the changed conditions brought about by the granting of Magna Carta and the subsequent death of John, a settlement, which included the abandonment of the county claims, was adjusted with John's successor, King Henry, whose sister Alexander married in 1221. On this subject Wyntoun says :

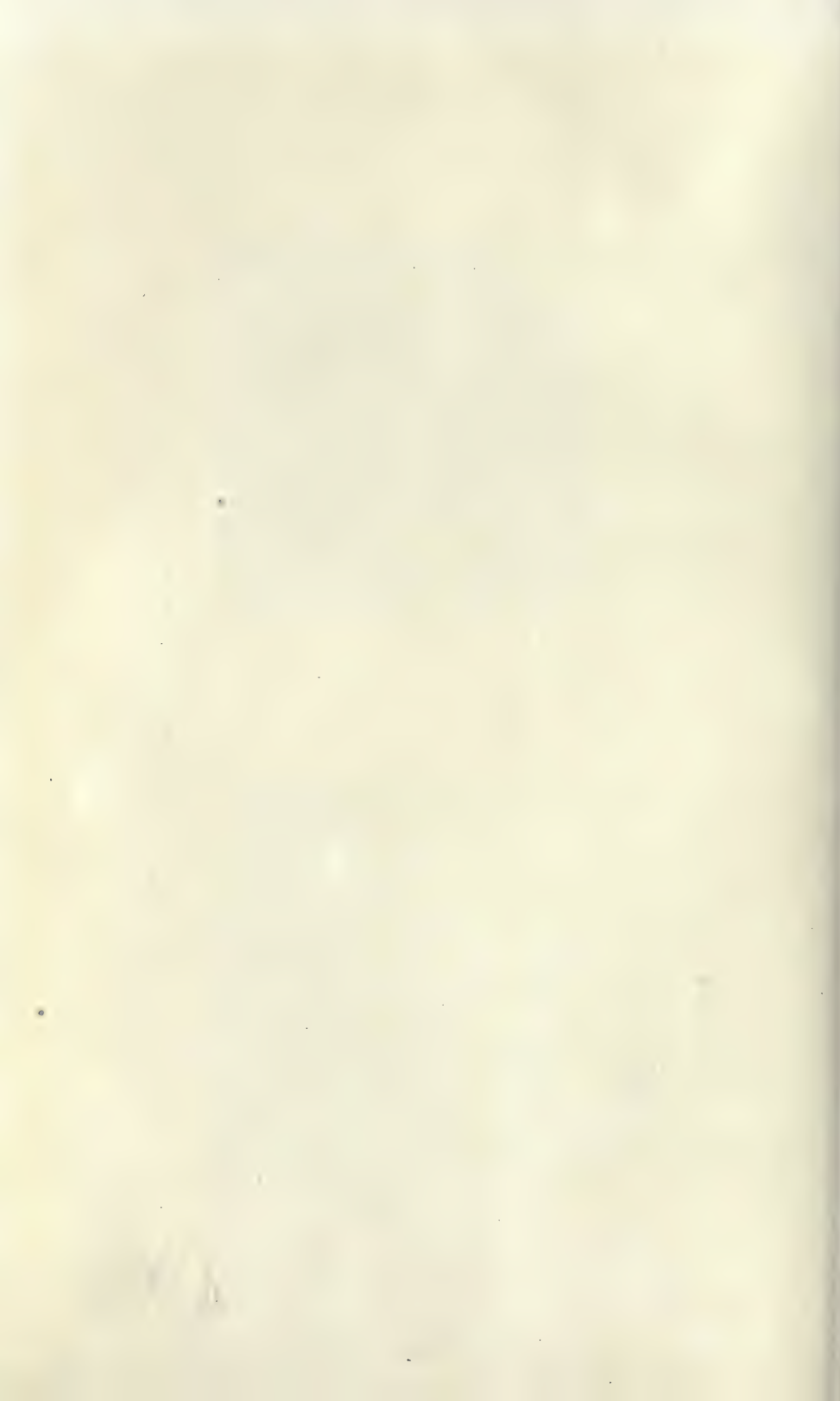
“ Betwene Alysandyr the secownd Kyng
That Scotland had in governing,
And the Kyngis off Ingland,
That in hys tyme war than rygnand
Fra that he fyrst maryd wes,
Wes ay qwyete, rest, and pes.
KYNGIS OFF PES for-thi thai twa,
Alysander and Henry, cald war swa.” ¹

¹ Wyntoun, ii. pp. 238-9.

in tantum conuertat. huius
 utitur ut si iudicare in ius
 & mortuos & se in pignus aui.
A Post hoc in iudicando manū
 in aqua feruente accipiat
 homo lapidem q̄ p̄fuit sus-
 pendat. In simplici p̄batione
 p̄mensura palme in tripla
 autē uni ulne manū sigillet
 tunc in aqua & apiat. ut sup̄ diximus in
 muliere & tunc in consecratione ferri.
B Exedictio aque frigide
 ad iudiciū faciendū. Cū in
 homines mittere in aqua

153
 b̄ndictio. ita formulā
 quā
 in ius cū cura & largi-
 tate conuertam de acan-
 tibus utatur quā
 & hostes ecclesie dei in si-
 stantes reprimat & se
 ipsū ab omni in ius
 tua p̄fectione p̄ocutit
 iudicandā p̄dicitur nūc.
Exedictio ferri iudica-
 tis. Ponatur ferum scilicet
 tunc in ius & in ius
 sup̄ ea celebratur. Potius
 dicitur homines in ius

FACSIMILES OF PAGES IN GLASGOW PONTIFICAL BOOK.
 Reduced to one third original size.



The continued peace with England gave the Scottish king the opportunity of bestowing more attention on home affairs, and one of the first advantages thereby secured was the complete subjugation of the district of Argyle, part of which had formed the ancient Dalriada, and had never hitherto been thoroughly subject to the Scottish crown.

Between the lands of Glasgow barony and the district of Argyle, thus united to the kingdom, lay the earldom of Levenachs, otherwise Levenax, a name latterly softened to Lennox, originally taken from the river Leven to the lands through which it flowed, and in time extended to the wide district embracing Dumbartonshire with a considerable portion of the shire of Stirling and other adjacent lands. The first owner of this territory is said, but on doubtful authority, to have been one Arkyll who lived in the time of Malcolm Canmore, and it was supposed that his son or grandson, Alwyn, was the first earl. Both the first earl and his son and successor were named Alwyn, but the precise dates of possession are uncertain. When the succession opened to the second earl he was in minority, and till he came of age for military service the earldom was held by King William's brother, David earl of Huntingdon.² One interesting bit of information connected with the administration of the earldom about this time is preserved in the Register of Glasgow Bishopric. By charters granted between 1208 and 1214 the second Earl Alwyn and Maldouen, his son and heir, granted to the church of Glasgow and to Bishop Walter and his successors, the church of "Kamsi," with the land which he gave to it at its dedication, and with the chapels adjacent to the church, common pasturage throughout the whole parish and other easements, all in free and perpetual alms. The charters are accompanied by a minute description of the bounds of the parish, but these

² *Lindores Chartulary*, p. 1; *Scots Peerage*, 'Lennox,' vol. v.; *Reg. de Passelet*, p. 167.

limits have been altered by subsequent disjunctions.³ Campsie became the prebend of the chancellor of the cathedral, but at first the bishop's title to its possession was not clear. During Earl David's wardship he had granted Campsie church to the monks of Kelso, and their claim was only surrendered in consideration of their receiving payment of ten merks yearly from the benefice.⁴

Whether or not the castle of Dumbarton had been in the full possession of earlier owners of the earldom is not definitely known, but from about the beginning of the thirteenth century it has been vested in the crown. By a charter dated 28th July, 1238, King Alexander granted and confirmed to Maldouen, son of Alwyn, the earldom of Levenax which his father held, with all its pertinents, except the castle of Dunbretane, with the land of Murrach, and with the whole harbour, and whole water and fishings on each side of the water of Levyne as far as the land of Murrach extended ; which excepted possessions, it was added, had been retained by the king with consent of Earl Maldouen. By this time the important step had been taken of erecting the town of Dumbarton into a royal burgh, and lands had been bestowed on the burgesses, thus accounting so far for the exceptions referred to, and also leading to the conclusion that the retention of territory and privileges had been in operation some years before the date of the charter. Previous to this time the burgesses of Glasgow had enjoyed the privilege of trading throughout both Lennox and Argyle, but after the new burgh of Dumbarton came into existence its burgesses seem to have objected to a continuation of such conditions. It was on 8th July, 1222, the same year in which Argyle had been subdued, that King Alexander constituted Dumbarton a burgh royal and conferred on its inhabitants such liberties as had been granted to Edinburgh, with the

³ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 101-3.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 116 ; *Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 45.

privilege of a weekly market and freedom from payment of toll for their goods in any part of the kingdom. By another charter, granted in the following year, the king charged dwellers within a wide district, probably as much as was then included in the shire of Dumbarton, to come to the burgh with their merchandise and there present the same to the market, conform to the laws and customs of burgh. The exaction of toll and custom duty from dwellers between the Water of Kelvin and the head of Loch Long⁵ was authorized, and parts of the lands of Murraich were bestowed as common good. By a third charter, granted in 1225-6, the king authorized the burgh to have a yearly fair, enduring for eight days, with all the customs and liberties enjoyed at the fairs held in the burghs of Roxburgh and Haddington.⁶

All this time Glasgow was not being overlooked in the bestowal of such advantages as could be derived from charters. Between 1224 and 1227 the king, in a series of three separate writings, confirmed the charters of his predecessor, and again in express terms renewed the powers and privileges of the burgesses. By a charter dated 13th October, 1235, the king directed that the bishops and their men should be quit of paying toll throughout the kingdom, as well within as without burghs, for their own goods and for all other things bought for their own use. The privileges here conferred seem to have been intended for the benefit of the whole inhabitants of the barony,

⁵ These bounds refer to land, not to waterway. Neither the shire nor the earldom embraced territory at the mouth of the Kelvin. Immediately west of the Kelvin, at its confluence with the river Clyde, were the lands of Govan within Glasgow barony, and beyond these was a stretch of riverside grounds within the barony, afterwards the shire, of Renfrew. But notwithstanding the obvious meaning of the charter the representatives of the two burghs, in their Clyde litigations of the seventeenth century, both of them oblivious of the primitive trading practices which prevailed four hundred years before their time, thought that the toll and custom which the burgh of Dumbarton was authorized to exact was leviable for traffic on the river Clyde.

⁶ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vii. No. 190.

and in this respect the charter differs from most of the other royal grants relating to trading and exaction of customs which were applicable to the burgh only.⁷

The full liberties of trading and exemption from toll and customs expressed in the burgh's charters appear to have been freely exercised throughout Lennox and Argyle before the burgh of Dumbarton was constituted in 1222. For some time previous to 1243, however, the burgesses of Dumbarton seem to have considered that the continuance of such freedom within their territory involved an infringement of their own privileges, and it is gathered from the terms of a charter granted by the king on 11th January, 1242-3, that the Glasgow men had been obstructed in the exercise of their rights. By the charter referred to the king confirmed previous grants and explicitly declared that the bishops and their burgesses and men of Glasgow might go into Argyle and Lennox, and throughout the whole kingdom, to buy and sell, and to exercise every sort of merchandise, without any hindrance from the bailies of Dumbarton, or from any others, all as such privileges had been exercised of old before a burgh was founded at Dumbarton. Peace and protection were also extended to all coming to or returning from the Fair and Market of Glasgow, and no one was to interfere with such traffickers or cause them injury or trouble.⁸

The charter authorizing Bishop Joceline to have a burgh at Glasgow was granted in 1175, 1178, or an intervening year, and in connection with the apparent assumption that the burgesses thereby obtained trading privileges throughout the earldom of Lennox, it seems a significant fact that Earl David, the king's brother, was one of the witnesses, while it is highly

⁷ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. pp. 8-13. In the charter of 1235 "sui" is a misprint for "servi." These are the words:—"homines, nativi et servi"—men, natives or neyfs and bondmen.

⁸ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. pp. 15, 16.

probable that at that time he was in possession of the earldom of Lennox, for the date of his investiture was some time about 1178-82. In any case Earl David must have had the opportunity, whether he exercised it or not, of conferring on the earliest burgesses of Glasgow some degree of freedom in the earldom, and it may be that to this circumstance the privileges referred to in the charter of 1242-3 owed their origin.

At this early period any little trade which the merchants of Glasgow carried on beyond their own borders was chiefly by land, though in later times it was nearly always in connection with the waterway that any rivalries existed between the two burghs. But the land controversy did not readily subside. In 1275 Alexander III. reminded the sheriff and bailies of Dumbarton that they knew well how, before the foundation of the burgh of Dumbarton, there had been granted to the bishop and his men of Glasgow authority to go to and return from Argyle with their merchandise, and the king then commanded that if the sheriff and bailies had taken anything from the bishop's men they should make restitution, and he charged them to desist from such interference in future. In this charter, which was ratified by Robert the Bruce in 1328, trading in the earldom is not referred to, but the object of the royal mandate must have been the protection of the Glasgow merchants while passing through the Lennox territory.⁹

From the existence of coins struck at Glasgow in the reign of Alexander II. or III., and from the circumstantial account given by M'Ure of coins of Robert III. bearing the inscription "*Villa de Glasgov*," being in the hands of collectors in his day, it appears that in former times there was a royal mint in the city, though its establishment may have been more of a periodic than a permanent nature. Originally the moneyers employed to strike coins accompanied the king from place to place.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. pp. 17, 24.

performing the work where and when necessary, and putting the temporary place of sojourn on the coin as the place of mintage. In this way the name of Walter, a moneyer, appears on Alexander's coins minted at Glasgow, Aberdeen, Montrose, Berwick and Dunbar. During the reign of Alexander III., the practice of giving the coiner's name was discontinued, and accordingly the pieces mentioned by M'Ure bear the sovereign's name only. In these days mints were established, or at least were in occasional operation, in many provincial towns, but it may be that mintage at these places was practised only during visits of royalty.¹⁰

¹⁰ See *Records of Coinage in Scotland*, i. pp. xiv, xv, xlii, xliii. The Alexander coins attributed to Glasgow are stamped with the letters GLA, and on that account it has been thought possible that they were minted at or near the royal castle of Glamis in Forfarshire, but it is generally held that Glasgow has the better claim. See *The Coinage of Scotland*, by Edward Burns (1887), vol. i. p. 147. The illustrations here reproduced in the following order are taken from vol. iii. of that work, viz., plate x, fig. 92C, 92D, 92E; plate xi, fig. 102; plate xii, fig. 118, 118A; plate xiii, fig. 127, 128.

M'Ure says, "There has been a mint-house" at Glasgow, "as was in most of the considerable burghs; for some of the coins of King Robert the III. bear to have been stamp'd here, and have the king's picture crowned, but without a scepter, and *Robertus Dei gratia rex Scotorum*, in the inner circle *Villa de Glasgow*, and on the outter *dominus protector*, some of which are preserved in the cabinets of the curious, and some were found lately by masons among the rubbish of the office-houses, as Mr. Russel informs me, who is governor of the correction house" in Drygait (*History of Glasgow*, p. 83). The inscription "*dominus protector*" seems to refer to the Duke of Albany in the time of his regency. With reference to the coin said to be "without a scepter," the editor of the 1830 edition of the *History* notes that "there is one in the possession of a gentleman of this city with the sceptre" (*Ib.*).



COINS ATTRIBUTED TO GLASGOW MINT.

CHAPTER XVIII

COLLECTION OF THE KING'S CUSTOMS

IN the thirteenth century the chief collectors of the royal revenues were, firstly the sheriffs, who gathered in the rents of the crown lands, the feudal casualties and the fines imposed by themselves and by the Justiciar and Chamberlain at their circuit courts; and, secondly, the magistrates and customars of the royal burghs who accounted for the burghal fermes and customs. Periodically accounts were rendered to the Chamberlain, who was both receiver and disburser of the crown revenues, and these accounts as filed were called Exchequer Rolls. Unfortunately no original rolls of a date prior to 1326 have been preserved, and the Earl of Haddington, who in the seventeenth century examined earlier rolls which have since disappeared, was so sparing with his transcripts that these afford little information about the burghs. From the account of Alexander Hunyeth, sheriff of Lanark in 1264, a few items are extracted by the earl, one recording payment for the carriage of lead from Crawford Muir to Rutherglen, and another the purchase of ninety-eight sheep which were sent for the king's use at a meeting of the great men of the realm, known as a "colloquium," held at Edinburgh that year.¹ The amount collected by Hugh of Dalzell, sheriff of Lanark in 1288, was £522 7s. 11½d.; and his expenditure included 22s. paid for two enclosures called "ponfaldys" (penfolds), one at Lanark and the other at Rutherglen.²

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, I. p. 30.

² *Ib.* p. 40.

The crown revenues collected by bailies of royal burghs consisted of the fixed yearly rent paid by each burgess for his separate toft or tenement, called Burgh Maill, the fines awarded in the Burgh Court, and the toll or petty custom on articles brought to the market either from the country or from abroad, and payable either at the town gate, in the market, or on leaving the town. As the burgh of Glasgow was situated on the bishop's territory burgh maill was not payable to the king, and the burgh court was presided over not by the king's but by the bishop's bailies, and thus crown revenue was not collected by the magistrates of the burgh of Glasgow. In such circumstances it seems to have been considered expedient, as already suggested,³ for the bailies of Rutherglen to continue the collection of such crown customs as were payable by those dwellers in Glasgow barony who formerly frequented the Rutherglen market. After about fifty years' experience in the working of this system some modification in the method of collection was considered desirable, and by a charter dated 29th October, 1226, King Alexander directed his bailies or officers of Rutherglen not to take toll or custom in the town of Glasgow, but to do this at the cross of " Schedenestun " as it was wont to be taken of old. The place thus fixed as still available for the collection of custom seems to have been situated close to the eastward boundary of the original royalty, on lands anciently bearing the curious designation of the Town of the Daughter of Sadin and now called Shettleston.⁴ The only known allusion to a cross at the place is that contained in Alexander's charter, but it is probable enough that the place of collection formed the centre of an ancient village, and it was no doubt on one of the highways leading to Rutherglen.

Whether the charter of 1226 carried exemption from customs to any extent, or whether no more than a change in the method

³ *Antea*, p. 39.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. p. 12. See also *antea*, pp. 54, 55.

of collection was thereby effected, is a question which cannot now be definitely answered, but in support of the theory that partial exemption was secured it is significant that, by a more drastic order passed at a later period, the barony seems to have been wholly relieved from liability for such dues. In consequence of a complaint made by Bishop Turnbull that the burghs of Renfrew and Rutherglen had caused disturbance and trouble to those who brought goods to the market of Glasgow to sell or buy, thereby hurting and prejudicing the privilege and custom granted by the King's predecessors to the Kirk of Glasgow, King James II., by letters under his privy seal, dated 4th February, 1449-50, charged the bailies, burgesses and communities of the two burghs in future to make no disturbance or impediment to any of his lieges coming or going to the market of Glasgow with merchandise, but to suffer them to come, go, buy and sell freely and peaceably without any demand. Moreover, these burghs, and all others, were forbidden to come within the barony of Glasgow, or within any lands pertaining to St. Mungo's freedom, to take toll or custom, by water or land, from any persons coming or going to the market, notwithstanding any letters of the king's predecessors granted to the burghs of Renfrew or Rutherglen or any other burghs.⁵ From this time, therefore, the burghs of Renfrew and Rutherglen must have ceased to collect crown customs in any part of the barony of Glasgow, and in consequence of the system of collection then in operation the loss must have fallen on the burghs themselves and not on the crown. For a long time past the crown revenues had been leased to the respective burghs at fixed yearly rents, and any surplus remaining after payment of that sum was appropriated for the purposes of the common good.⁶

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. p. 27.

⁶ Parts of the Govan lands were at different times claimed for the shire of Renfrew, and it must have been from such portions that the bailies of

In addition to the customs collected for the crown each burgh levied duties or customs for its own purposes, such as maintaining streets in proper condition, keeping order in the burgh, upholding market places and superintending the markets. Such dues merchants of Rutherglen and Renfrew, like other traffickers, had to meet when frequenting Glasgow market on business. As an illustration of the operation of this impost it may be mentioned that in 1304, during the time when King Edward of England had assumed the task of governing this country, the Bishop of Glasgow asked his authority to distrain the burgesses of Rutherglen for payment of toll which had been claimed from them, because the bishop and his town of Glasgow had been "seised, from time beyond memory," of toll from these burgesses on all goods sold or bought in Glasgow. The Guardian and Chamberlain of Scotland were instructed to inquire into the facts and report,⁷ but though nothing further on the subject is recorded it need not be doubted that the former practice of paying such dues was continued. So late as the year 1575 the lords of council decided that the community of Rutherglen were then liable for Glasgow market dues, "conforme to the lovable use observit past memour of man,"⁸ and therefore it may safely be assumed that there never had been any serious interruption to their imposition and collection.

Renfrew had been collecting custom within Glasgow barony previous to 1449. On the subject of county boundaries in the Govan lands some intricate questions have been raised, and these are discussed in *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 119-25.

⁷ Bain's *Calendar*, vol. ii. No. 1627.

⁸ *Glasg. Chart.* I. pt. ii. p. 166.

CHAPTER XIX

BUILDING OF GLASGOW CATHEDRAL RESUMED

AN important stage in the status of the Scottish Church was reached while Walter was bishop of Glasgow. In a Lateran Council held in November 1215, at which that Church was represented by the bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow and Moray, a long series of disciplinary measures were passed, and it was enacted that throughout the Christian church metropolitans should hold provincial councils yearly to correct abuses, to reform morals and to enforce the statutes of general councils. The Scottish church had long before this been pronounced independent of the provinces of York and Canterbury, and had no metropolitan of its own to summon a provincial council, but by a Papal Bull, obtained in 1225, the Scottish bishops were authorized to hold such a council, by authority of the Apostolic see, without the co-operation of a papal legate or other outside assistance. Though the phraseology was ambiguous this authority was interpreted as of perpetual application, and from that time the Scottish church exercised the privilege of holding its own provincial councils, which all bishops, abbots and priors, were required to attend every year.¹

Most of the statutes passed by the Scottish provincial council are taken from those of general councils and from English and other sources, and the few special enactments are not always accommodated in any peculiar way to Scottish conditions; but there is at least one important resolution

¹ *Statutes of Scottish Church* (Scottish History Society), pp. xxxi-v.

relative to the building of Glasgow Cathedral. Following on a regulation as to the reception of Pardoners coming to churches, on missions of the Pope or bishop, to grant indulgences on the gift of alms, it was ordained, as a thing to be kept steadily in view, that from the beginning of Lent until the Octave of Easter the scheme for the building of Glasgow church should, on all Sundays and feast days, be faithfully and earnestly brought before the parishioners, in every church, after the gospel at mass, and that an indulgence should be granted to those who contributed to the building scheme. It was also directed that the indulgences should be exhibited in writing in every church, and that the announcement should be publicly and distinctly recited to the parishioners in the common tongue. Contributions and the effects of persons dying intestate and also moneys piously bequeathed were to be faithfully collected and made over, without deductions, to the deans of the respective places at their next chapter-meetings; and no one was to authorize a collection in parish churches for any other scheme within the period specified.² Donations in money for the building and embellishment of the cathedral must have been profuse, but of these no record has been kept. In one case, however, where land was bestowed, the charters relating to the transaction have been recorded in the Register. Forveleth, the widowed countess of Lennox, designated as the daughter of Kerald, in exercise of her free power, during her widowhood, gave to God and Saint Kentigern the half quarter of the land called Hachenkerach, in the parish of Buthelulle, for sustentation of the building of the church of Glasgow, and that in free and perpetual alms, for the weal of her soul and of the souls of the earls of Lennox and of the souls of her and their ancestors and successors. The lands thus gifted were apparently part of those now embraced within the estate

² *Statutes of the Scottish Church* (Scottish History Society), p. 25. This ordinance is said to have been granted in 1242 (*Reg. Episc.* p. xxviii).



SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF WALTER, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1208-32.



of Auchincarroch, about two miles north-east of Alexandria, in the parish of Bonhill. The charter is not dated, but it was confirmed by Earl Maldouen, and both grant and ratification are supposed to have been penned about the year 1240.³

It is probable that each of the four Bishops next in succession to Joceline had a hand in furthering the construction of the Cathedral choir, but in this work the chief share fell to Bishop Walter, whose episcopate extended from 1207 to 1232, and who is not only credited with completing that part of the Cathedral but is also believed to have made some progress with the nave and transepts. That in Walter's time the Cathedral had been put into a fairly efficient condition there is historical evidence to show, but strange to say the whole fabric disappeared without leaving any trace of the process whereby such a sweeping clearance was effected. Burning may have been the immediate agency or, as has been conjectured, the older material may have been designedly removed to make way for the magnificent choir and lower church which took its place under the direction of Walter's successor, but under what circumstances reconstruction began is a point of inquiry likely to remain obscure.

Bishop Walter died in 1232, and William de Bondington, at that time chancellor of the kingdom,⁴ was elected his successor in the same year. He was consecrated by the Bishop of Moray at Glasgow on Sunday, 11th September, 1233, and he held the episcopate for twenty-five years after that date. The new buildings undertaken by Bishop William, consisting chiefly of the choir and lower church, which remain till the

³ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 177-8; *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 58.

⁴ Before his appointment to the bishopric Bondington had been a canon of Glasgow Cathedral in the capacity of rector of Eddleston in Peeblesshire, and he had also held the office of archdeacon, either of Teviotdale or of St. Andrews, it is uncertain which. For fuller information regarding the bishop reference may be made to Dr. Primrose's *Mediaeval Glasgow*, pp. 16-33.

present day, were carried on with remarkable expedition, and it is thought that they may have been completed during his lifetime.⁵ Other works, at different parts of the building,

⁵ In his *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901) Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers thus describes the building :—" The choir is five bays long, and the arches are of greater span than those in the nave. The east end is square, with a column in the centre of the wall. The unique feature in the plan is the Chapel of the Four Altars, to the east of the choir and of the high altar. This is one of the most beautiful parts of the whole design, the columns and arches being exceedingly graceful, and the details of the windows and walls of great richness. The plan appealed to the designer of Roslyn Chapel, and he copied it in 1450. There appears to be no reason to doubt that the architect of the choir at Glasgow was familiar with the great work projected by his contemporary at Durham—the Chapel of the Nine Altars. The chapels occupy similar positions and serve similar purposes, and a study of the two works reveals that there is much in common. The Bishop of Glasgow subscribed to the new fabric at Durham, and he granted a twenty days' indulgence to all who would contribute towards the work.

The main piers in the Glasgow choir are elaborately moulded, the capitals are richly carved, and the arches are decorated with a splendid series of small mouldings set in relief by the deep hollows between. The second storey, or Triforium, is a beautiful design, of a double arched opening within a pointed arch. The clear-storey is treated as a simple arcade richly moulded. The outstanding feature in the work is the elaborate character of the mouldings. There is very little sculpture work. The east window is of four tall lancets, and the aisle windows are of three lights, under a single arch, the plate of stone over the lights being pierced with cusped openings. The Sacristy door is at the north-east corner of the Chapel of the Four Altars, where there is a staircase leading from the lower church to the Triforium. There was another door at the west end of the north aisle, which led to the room called the Hall of the Vicar's Choral. This building no longer exists; the doorway is built up, and the sill of the window above has been lowered and made uniform with the other sills. The aisles are vaulted in stone. This work is very interesting because of the number of coats of arms which have been introduced, all brilliantly gilded and coloured.

The plan of the lower church closely follows the plan of the choir. The Chapel of the Four Altars is repeated; but, instead of the piers being detached, they are connected to the east wall by screens of stone. The altars were dedicated to SS. Nicholas, Peter and Paul, Andrew, and John. St. Mungo's Well stands in St. John's Chapel. The door to the Chapter-house, in the north-east corner of St. Nicholas' Chapel, is the most elaborately decorated work in the cathedral.

The side aisles of the lower church are vaulted in stone of a simple design. The centre aisle, in the arrangement of the pillars and in the design of the vaulting, presents features of great interest. The task set the architect was to distinguish both the new site of the High Altar in the choir above, and the

such as the south and west porches of the nave, the walls and pillars of the low building on the south transept, and some parts of the chapter-house, appear also to have been executed about this time. Experts recognize that the style of work, which is of a pure English type, is marked by a strong individuality, and the unknown architect is acknowledged to have been no copyist.⁶ A durable sandstone was employed, which may have been obtained from what was latterly known as the Cracklinghouse Quarry, the site of which is now occupied by the Queen Street station of the North British Railway Company.

Having done so much in rearing the structure of the cathedral and fitting it for religious services, the Bishop turned his attention to the services themselves, and shortly before his death, while residing at his country seat of Ancrum in Roxburghshire, he, with consent of his chapter, granted a

site of the old Altar and Shrine of St. Mungo. An open compartment was formed at the east end, equal in width to two divisions of the vaulting in the aisles. In this compartment we may now identify the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The vault was richly decorated with moulded ribs and carved bosses in great profusion.

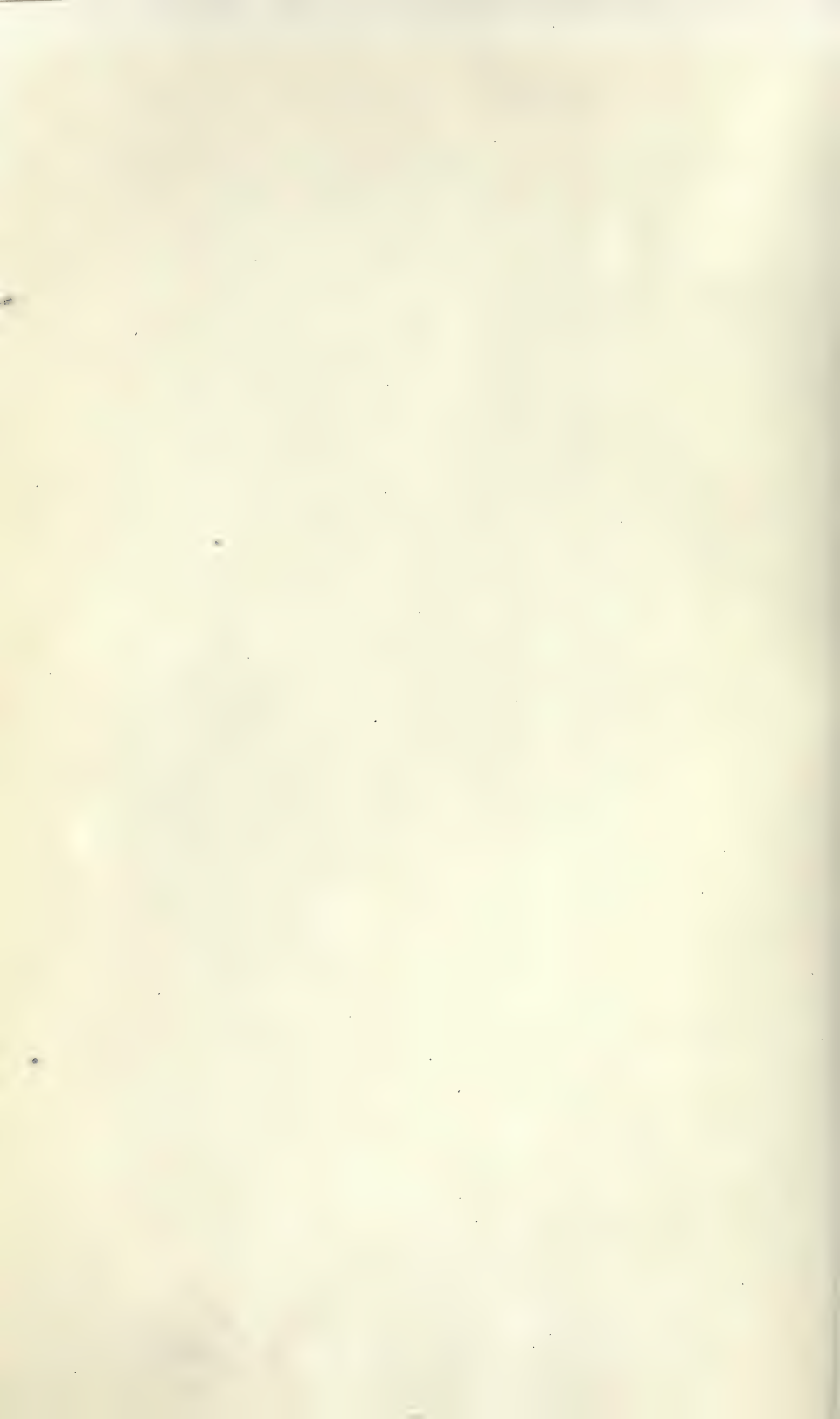
There are four carvings on the bosses in the vaulting of the north aisle, near the north porch, which merit special attention. Their great beauty of design and execution justifies the opinion that Gothic art at its best, approximated to the perfection of Greek art. And these have a further interest in addition to their beauty if, as appears probable, they are portraits of great benefactors to the cathedral. One of the bosses is carved with a woman's face, of rare beauty, sunk in the centre of a wreath of leaves. A man's face is carved in the other boss. His hair is peculiarly dressed. It is worn long at the back, but is fashioned in front with a plaited and curled fringe, which hangs stiff and square upon the brow. The nobles are shown with their hair dressed in this fashion in an illustrated life of S. Thomas the Martyr, drawn by a Frenchman in England between the years 1230 and 1260. It is probable that we have in these two carvings portraits of Isabella de Valoniis and Sir David Comyn, her husband. Her magnificent gift to the cathedral [referred to *postea*, p. 110], was made before 1250. To these two portraits must be added the portrait of the great builder-bishop, William de Bondington, and, on another boss, the portrait of King Alexander II., who died in 1249" (*Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), pp. 13-15).

⁶ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), pp. 15, 16.

charter whereby the liberties and customs of Sarum (Salisbury) were established as the future constitution of Glasgow cathedral. Bishop Osmund of Sarum had, in 1076, composed a ritual which was very generally adopted in other churches, and it seems to have been used in Glasgow. Perhaps the constitution and customs of Sarum had likewise been followed to some extent ; but definite information regarding these were now procured, and the rules laid down with greater precision. In the church of Sarum there were four principal dignitaries—the dean, the chanter, the chancellor, and the treasurer ; four archdeacons, and also a sub-dean and sub-chanter. In Glasgow there were only two archdeacons, one for Glasgow proper, and the other for Teviotdale ; but other office-bearers were the same in Glasgow as in Sarum. It was the dean's office to preside over the canons and vicars in the rule of souls and the correction of morals ; to hear all causes belonging to the chapter, and to decide by the judgment of the chapter ; to correct the excesses of clerics ; and, after fit consideration, to punish the parsons according to the gravity of the offence and the quality of the offenders. The canons received institution from the bishop, but possession of the prebends from the dean. The dean assigned to the canons their stalls in the choir and their places in the chapter. The office of the chanter was to guide the choir, to appoint the singers and the ministers of the altar, and to admit the boys into the choir, and superintend their instruction and discipline. The chancellor had to bestow care in regulating the schools, and repairing and correcting the books, to examine and prescribe the lessons, to keep the seal of the chapter, to compose its letters and charters and to read the letters requiring to be read in the chapter. The treasurer had to preserve the ornaments and treasure of the church, to manage the lights, and also the great paschal wax, to maintain the bells and ornaments providing all necessities, to supply bread and wine, and candles



SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF WILLIAM DE BONDINGTON, BISHOP OF GLASGOW,
1233-58.



to the altars, and incense, coal, straw, and bulrushes for the church. The subdean took the place of the dean in his absence, and the sub-chanter similarly acted for his principal, and likewise superintended the song school.⁷

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 211.

CHAPTER XX

LANDS IN THE BARONY OF GLASGOW AND BISHOPFOREST

THE primitive practice of the king travelling from place to place, attended by a retinue of prelates, earls, churchmen and barons, and holding courts for the administration of justice, was gradually superseded by the devolution of such duties upon qualified officials, such as justiciars and sheriffs, acting under direct royal authority, and the judges appointed by bishops, abbots and barons, each presiding over the court applicable to his own prescribed area. The king's justiciars or chief justices traversed the kingdom, holding circuit courts in the central parts of the different districts, the sheriff kept within the limits of his shire, and the attention of the baron-bailie was confined to the area ruled by its lay or ecclesiastical lord. In addition to the burgh court, established subsequent to 1175, the bishops of Glasgow must have had their baronial courts from the earliest times, though no charter containing either an express or implied grant of jurisdiction is known to have been granted previous to 1241, at which time the bishops were authorized to hold the barony lands by the tenure of free forest. Cosmo Innes was of opinion that a forest grant was the most extensive and the most privileged in use in the thirteenth century, and he remarks that the rights of property usually if not invariably preceded the rights of forest. The king gave an extensive grant of lands, and afterwards, sometimes at a considerable interval of time, he improved the vassal's tenure by giving him a right of forest over the same vassal's bounds,

thereby conferring all the rights which the king enjoyed in his own forests. The specific advantage conferred by a grant in free forest in Scotland was that it fixed a definite fine against any one cutting the wood or hunting the deer, and the forfeiture was £10, the same as the king's.¹ Though the lands of Glasgow barony were not of very great extent, and though the term "forest" does not necessarily imply the existence of trees, especially those of large growth, it seems significant that the grant of forest rights was made about the time when the rebuilding of the cathedral was commenced, and this may be taken as an indication that the additional powers conferred on the bishop were meant to give him greater facilities in procuring timber to be used in the structure.

The charter of 1241 is short, and as it has not been reprinted in *Glasgow Charters* a translation may be given here :

"Alexander, by the grace of God, King of Scots : To all good men of his whole land, greeting. Know ye that we have granted to the venerable William, bishop of Glasgow, that he and all his successors, bishops of Glasgow, may have and hold their lands around Glasgow, namely, the lands of Conclud, of Schedinistun, of Ballayn, of Badermonoc, of Possele and of Kenmore, of Garvach, of Neutun, of Leys, of Rammishoren, and the land of the Burgh, and other lands belonging to the manor (*manerium*) of Glasgow,—in free forest for ever. Likeas we strictly prohibit any one, without their authority, to cut wood or hunt in the said lands, upon our full forfeiture of ten pounds. Witnesses : Clement, bishop of Dunblane ; master Matthew, archdeacon of Glasgow ; John, sheriff of Strivelyn ; Walram of Normanvill. At Kirketun, the 12th day of September (1241) in the 28th year of our reign." ²

The ten leading names of lands here given, coupled with the generality "and other lands belonging to the manor of Glasgow," seem intended to include all the territory belonging to the bishopric north of the river Clyde and east of the river Kelvin, and to leave out the lands of Govan and Partick

¹ *Legal Antiquities*, pp. 33, 41.

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 180.

situated to the south and west of these streams. Conclud, Schedinistun, Ballayn and Badermonoc, places already referred to in previous chapters, may be regarded as combining all the barony lands to the east of the burgh territory. Possele and Kenmore or Kenmure occupied the north-western district of the barony, and Garvach, Neutun and Leys, apparently the lands now known as Garrioch, Kirklee and Newton, or, as it was sometime called, the new town of Partick, completed the western section. Ramshorn which, from at least the year 1518 when it is first noticed in the bishops' rental-book, is always bracketed with Meadowflat, here makes its earliest appearance as Rammishoren, a name which has often attracted the attention of etymologists but has hitherto baffled their powers of satisfactory solution. Originally the name may have been applied to lands of wider extent, just as the name Conclud or Kinclaith is believed to have been formerly the designation of a large stretch of river frontage though it is now applicable to no more than a small portion of the Green. As known in modern times, Ramshorn and Meadowflat embrace the present George Square and extend from St. Enoch's Burn on the west to the High Street properties on the east, and from Rottenrow on the north to Longcroft, in the line of Ingram Street, on the south. Mainly on account of their central position these lands were early acquired by the magistrates and council and were incorporated with the burgh by the first statutory extension of the municipal boundaries.

About the time of the forest grant the bishopric received an important addition to its territory through the bounty of Isabella de Valoniis, lady of Killebride. By a charter granted in or before 1250, this lady, for the weal of her soul, and of the souls of her parents and successors and of Sir David Comyn, her late husband, gave and confirmed to God and St. Kentigern, and the church of Glasgow, her fifteen pound land in the fief of Kirkepatrick, called the Forest of Dalkarne, a name appar-

ently derived from its situation on the border of the vale through which the river Karne or Cairn had its course. The lands were to be possessed as they stood on the day of the grant, or according to limits to be fixed at the sight of good men chosen by the Bishop of Glasgow, and any deficiency in extent was to be made up from Lady Isabella's adjacent lands of Dalkarne. The gifted lands were to be held by the bishop and his successors in pure and perpetual alms, free of all home or foreign service and of all other service or demand.³ The charter was confirmed by John of Balliol on 14th September, 1250, and by King Alexander III. on 12th November, 1254.⁴ The lands thus obtained lie in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Irongray, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and have long been known as Bishop's Forest, under which name they were combined with the city and barony in forming the Regality of Glasgow, as erected by crown charter in 1450.⁵

It is not expressly stated that the Forest of Dalkarne came into the bishop's possession in connection with the rebuilding of the cathedral, but the grant was made while the work was proceeding, and there are other circumstances, all leading to

³ The witnesses to the charter, which is undated, are Friar David, prior of the Friars Preachers of Ayr; friar Robert de Irewyn; Sir William de Valoniis, the granter's brother; Walter de Mortimer, dean, and Reginald de Irewyn, archdeacon of Glasgow; and Sir Radulf, chaplain, canon of Glasgow. It is stated in "*Melrose Chronicle*" (*Church Historians*, iv. pt. i. p. 181) that Master Hugh de Potton, archdeacon of Glasgow, died in 1238, and that after his decease the archdeaconry was divided, Master Matthew de Habirden assuming the title of archdeacon of Glasgow and master Peter de Alingtun being styled archdeacon of Thevidale. The statement is also made (*Ibid.* p. 185) that in 1242 Master Peter de Alinton died and was succeeded by Master Reginald de Irewin. The latter held that office till 1245, when he was appointed archdeacon of Glasgow, and Nicholas de Moffat then became archdeacon of Teviotdale (*Chronicle of Lanercost*, quoted in George Watson's "*Archdeaconry of Teviotdale*": *Transactions of Hawick Archæological Society*, 1907). With reference to the first statement here quoted from *Melrose Chronicle*, Cosmo Innes remarks that some new arrangement of the archdeaconries may have taken place, but that an archdeacon of Teviotdale occurs long before (*Reg. Episc.* p. xxix).

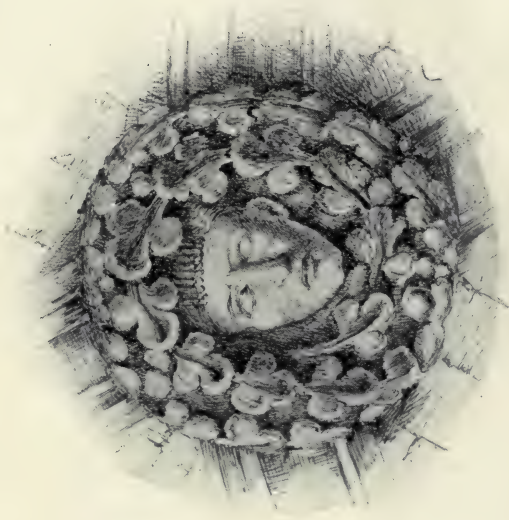
⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 199-201.

⁵ *Glasg. Chart*, I. pt. ii. p. 28.

the inference that the main purpose of the gift was the furtherance of Bishop Bondington's great scheme. Of five portraits carved on bosses in the vaulting of the north aisle, near the north porch of the lower church, three are supposed to represent King Alexander II. with his son, afterwards Alexander III., and Bishop Bondington; and it has been suggested ⁶ that the other two carved bosses contain the portraits of Lady Isabella de Valoniis and Sir David Comyn. A beautiful tomb, the stones of which are richly moulded, occupied a site near these portraits, thus lending support to the further theory that the tomb is that of David Comyn and his pious and benevolent lady, whose good deeds were thus commemorated in the building which her bounty helped to rear.⁷

⁶ *Antea*, p. 105. The portraits here given were sketched from the bosses by Miss Mary R. Henderson, artist.

⁷ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), pp. 14-16; (1914), pp. 54, 55.



SIR DAVID COMYN.



ISABELLA DE VALONIIS.



CHAPTER XXI

ARRIVAL OF THE FRIARS

BOTH of the great Orders of Mendicant Friars, the one instituted by St. Francis of Assisi, an Italian merchant, and the other by St. Dominic, a Castilian theologian, had made rapid progress in evangelistic work on the continent before the end of the second decade of the thirteenth century, Francis devoting his chief attention to the masses of the people, and Dominic being equally enthusiastic and successful in inspiring a new vitality among scholars and ecclesiastics. The Dominicans, otherwise called Friars Preachers, or, from the colour of their habit, Black Friars, were the first to arrive in England, and were preaching in London in the autumn of 1221. Two years later a band of Franciscans came to England, and not many seasons were allowed to pass before brethren of both Orders had found settlements in this country. Unlike the monk who kept by his cloister and his grange, and had nothing to do with ministering to others, the Friar was an itinerant evangelist whose first duty was to save the bodies and souls of the people. His dwelling was not in rural monasteries but in the towns where assemblages of humanity could best be reached and benefited by missionary labours. The year 1230 has been given as the date when the Dominicans were settled in Edinburgh, Berwick and Ayr. King Alexander II. is credited with founding not only these houses but also branches of the Order in five other Scottish towns. It must have been in or before 1246 that a convent of Dominican Friars was planted

in Glasgow, as on 10th July of that year Pope Innocent IV. issued a Bull granting forty days' indulgence to all the faithful who should contribute to the completion of the church and other edifices which the Friars Preachers of Glasgow had begun to build. Six years later the king charged the bailies of Dumbarton to pay from his rents of that burgh ten pounds yearly to the Friars Preachers of Glasgow, in lieu of his obligation to find them in food for one day of every week.¹ This slender donation of aliment can scarcely be classed with the long series of subsequent endowments bestowed on the friars in Glasgow, the acceptance of which involved a departure from the original constitution of the Order whereby all worldly possessions were renounced and the individual friars had to rely on voluntary alms for their support.

According to tradition the Place of the Preaching Friars in Glasgow "wes biggit and foundit be the Bischop and Cheptour."² The site chosen lay midway between the Cathedral and the Market Cross, and on the east side of the thoroughfare between those points. At that time little of the ground in this locality was occupied by buildings, being on the one hand too far south for the dwellings of ecclesiastics and on the other too far north for convenient occupation by the artizans and booth-holders of the burgh. On the opposite or western side of the road which fronted the site, in the line of the present High Street, lay the lands of Ramshorn, though there may have intervened a strip of ground which at a later date is found partly in possession of the Parson of Glasgow and partly occupied as the Place of the Franciscan or Grey Friars. It may therefore be assumed that in 1246 the ground selected

¹ *Liber Coll.*, etc., pp. xxxix, xl. At the time of the Reformation the endowments of the Friars came into the possession of Glasgow University, along with the relative title-deeds, and in the work here cited, compiled chiefly from these writs by Dr. Joseph Robertson for the Maitland Club in 1846, much valuable historical information is contained.

² *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

as the site for the buildings of the Friars, forming the eastmost portion of vacant land stretching from St. Enoch's Burn on the west to the Molendinar on the east, was at the disposal of Bishop Bondington, thus confirming the accuracy of the tradition at least to the extent that he had a share in the bestowal of a site, though, keeping in view the terms of the Pope's "indulgence," it seems apparent that the Place was not entirely "biggit" by the bishop and chapter. As an indication of the mutual friendship subsisting between the bishop and the friars it is recorded that on 14th May, 1255, Pope Alexander IV. commissioned the Prior of the Preaching Friars of Glasgow to dispense the bishop of a vow he had made not to eat flesh in his own house. On account of his old age and weakness the vow was to be commuted into alms and other works of mercy.³

Not many years after the arrival of the Friars references occur in *Registrum Episcopatus* to buildings or lands situated near their premises. In 1270 Robert of Lanark, subdean, granted to the vicars, dean and subdean of the cathedral, his house, with a croft and all its pertinents, which he had bought from Philip, the fuller, who at that time held the land as a feuwar of the subdean. Sasine or possession of this property, which is described as lying in the town of Glasgow, between the lands of the Friars Preachers and the house of William of Bellidstane, was given to the new owners in presence of nine named witnesses "and many others." Of the named witnesses three were dignitaries of the cathedral and the remainder were burgesses of the city, this being perhaps the earliest occasion in which we have names of that class of the inhabitants.⁴ It was the usual practice to have near neighbours as witnesses to the public ceremony of giving sasine, and at least three of

³ Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 303.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 220. The named witnesses were Sir Walter de Mortimer, dean of Glasgow; Robert, treasurer, and Richard, chancellor, canons of Glasgow; Richard of Dundover, William Gley, Roger, skinner, Galfrid, dyer, Richard Camber, and William, fuller, burgesses of Glasgow.

the witnesses, a skinner, a dyer and a fuller, may have resided in the Walker-gait (*Vicus Fullonum*), not far from the south side of the Friars' grounds, where the transferred house and croft were apparently situated. For authentication of the document the seals of the granter and of the dean, as well as the common seal of the city, were appended.

No document having the burgh seal attached is now extant of an earlier date than 1325, and consequently the form of the burgh seal of 1270 is not definitely known. Father Innes, who examined the seal attached to a document believed to have been issued about the year 1268, states that it showed the head of the Bishop (St. Kentigern) with mitre, and that the seal attached to a document dated 1293, also examined by him, contained the head above and a bell below.⁵ The seal of 1325 has the Bishop's head and mitre along with the bell and other emblems. On these grounds Dr. Macgeorge was of opinion that between 1268 and 1325 three separately designed burgh seals had been in use ; ⁶ but, after more or less handling in the course of four centuries, the impressed wax on the first two seals may not have been quite distinct, and perhaps the statements of Father Innes, who does not expressly say that there was no bell on the first seal or that no other emblem than a bell was on the other seal, can scarcely be taken as conclusive evidence on these points.

A charter believed to have been granted about the year 1300 contains a description of property which seems to have adjoined that of the Friars on the north. By this deed Alan, designated perpetual vicar of the church of Glasgow ⁷ and

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 236, 243 ; vol. i. pp. cxxv, cxxvi.

⁶ *Armorial Insignia of Glasgow*, pp. 98-102.

⁷ Alan, whose name as vicar of Glasgow appears in the Ragman Roll on 28th August, 1296 (*Bain's Calendar*, ii. p. 212), seems to have held the vicarage of the parish of Glasgow. The term "perpetual" was more applicable to the benefice than to its possessor, but it was used to distinguish parochial vicars from those who sang in the choir or who took part in the cathedral services, as representing the canons while residing in their rural parishes.



ANCIENT SEAL OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE CITY OF GLASGOW,
USED IN THE REIGN OF ROBERT I.



sacristan thereof, with consent of the cathedral chapter, granted to Sir John of Carric, chaplain of the parish of Glasgow, a piece of land then vacant, lying within the burgh, opposite that of the Friars Preachers, between the lands of Malcolm called Scot on the north and the vennel or passage (*viam*) of the Friars on the south, to be held by Sir John and his heirs, for payment to the sacristan and his successors of three silver shillings yearly. The seal of the granter is appended to the charter, and for greater security he also procured the seals of the Official,⁸ and of the community of Glasgow.⁹

From the croft transactions just noticed it will be observed that, though more than a hundred years had elapsed since the foundation of the burgh, little or no progress had been made in the placing of dwellings on the upper or steep part of the High Street, and that the land thus left vacant was chiefly applied for the maintenance or accommodation of churchmen and friars. As still further manifesting the goodwill subsisting between the secular clergy and the preachers, it may be mentioned that in August, 1304, the bishop gave to the latter the use of water from the Meadow Well in Deanside, on the west side of the High Street, with liberty to lead the same to their cloisters, and this grant was subsequently confirmed by the cathedral chapter. But it was not everywhere or always that the Friars found a cordial reception in their settlements, and in 1265 the Pope thought it expedient to issue a Bull pronouncing excommunication upon all persons daring to offer

⁸ The administration of justice in the Bishop's ecclesiastical court was originally entrusted to the archdeacon, but when business increased the duty devolved on a judge appointed by him and named the Official.

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 254. The witnesses were John Dubber and John, son of Waldeve, bailies of Glasgow, Roger Halcrer, John his son, Radulph Saryn, John Juet, John son of Alan, "and many others." In *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 190, it was suggested that the sacristan's property may have been situated on the west side of the High Street, but it appears that the east side has the better claim.

violence to the churches or places of the brethren.¹⁰ In Glasgow also the Friars may at first have had their occasional troubles, but the extant records of that period are so meagre that we have scarcely any knowledge of their movements or of the nature of the relations which subsisted between them and the community.

¹⁰ *Liber Coll.* etc. pp. 149-51.

CHAPTER XXII

KINGS AND BISHOPS—CATHEDRAL CANONS AND VICARS

TOWARDS the close of Alexander's reign the peaceful relationship which had existed between England and Scotland was nearly arrested through the occurrence of the tragic incidents following on a tournament held at Haddington in 1242 ; but the people on both sides were disinclined for war, and at Newcastle the two sovereigns arranged a treaty under which neither king was to attack or injure the other except in self-defence or on just provocation.¹ Proceeding with the settlement of his own national affairs Alexander was desirous of crowning his work in the subjugation of Argyle by securing beyond doubt the sovereignty of the Western Isles. Negotiations with Haco of Norway for that end having been unsuccessful, the king sailed with a fleet to obtain possession partly by negotiation and partly by force, but in the course of this expedition he died in the small island of Kerrera, fronting the Bay of Oban, on 8th July, 1249.

Alexander III. was only in his eighth year when he succeeded to the throne, and for the next few years the country was subjected to the inconveniences and dangers of a minority rule ; but notwithstanding the divided aims of the two chief parties in the state, the Comyns and the Durwards, the ordeal was safely passed through, and by the year 1262 Alexander was himself in a position to take the leading part in the affairs of the nation. The following year saw the destruction of the

¹ Burton, ii. p. 18 ; Hume Brown, i. p. 116.

Norwegian fleet at Largs, and a direct result of this disaster to Haco's imposing invasion was the definite annexation, three years later, of the Western Isles to the crown of Scotland.

Whether there were any special circumstances calling for royal recognition in 1251, or whether, as is more likely, this was sought very much as a usual formality at the beginning of a new reign, is not known, but by letters dated 30th April of that year, King Alexander took Bishop William his lands and his men, and all their possessions, under his firm peace and protection, and forbade that any one should unjustly do them harm, injury, molestation or trouble, under pain of his full forfeiture.² At a later period, and at a time when the Dumbarton authorities were interfering with the bishop's men in their trading journeys to Argyle, the king granted to the bishop the charter of 1275 which has already been referred to.³

Bishop William died on 10th November, 1258, and was buried at Melrose, near the great altar. Nicholas de Moffat, who had been archdeacon of Teviotdale, was chosen his successor, with the king's approval, and he proceeded to Rome to receive consecration from the Pope. But in this he did not succeed, partly, says the Melrose chronicler,⁴ because he was unwilling to pay a sum of money which the Pope and the cardinals demanded from him, and partly because he was opposed by those who had accompanied him, particularly Robert, the elect of Dunblane, who thought that if Nicholas was rejected he might have the bishopric himself. Nicholas returned to Scotland in 1259 and John de Cheyam, archdeacon of Bath and a papal chaplain, was appointed by the Pope and consecrated at the Roman court. This appointment was disagreeable to the king, and was rendered more so on account of the letters for carrying it into effect being addressed to the bishops of Lincoln and Bath. Though the king was apparently

² *Glasgow Chart*. I. pt. ii. p. 16.

³ *Antea*, p. 95.

⁴ *Church Historians*, vol. iv. pt. i. pp. 209-10.

powerless to stay the ecclesiastical procedure his control over the destination of the land revenues was sufficient to make his consent very desirable if not essential. As shown by the Exchequer Rolls, in the Earl of Haddington's extracts, the temporalities of the see were accounted for to the king's chamberlain for the terms of Martinmas, 1259, and Whitsunday, 1260, but unfortunately particulars are not given.⁵ On the application of the Pope, who stated that he did not desire to do anything contrary to the custom of the kingdom in regard to the temporality, and who directed the bishop to render fealty to the king before receiving such, all differences seem to have been smoothed over for the time, and Bishop John entered into full possession of the see and held it for about seven years. But he was not on good terms with the canons, who resented his intrusion, and in 1267 he went abroad, where he died in the following year. Nicholas de Moffat was thereupon elected bishop for a second time, but he died unconsecrated in 1270. William Wischard, archdeacon of St. Andrews and chancellor of the kingdom, was chosen as his successor, but on 2nd June, 1271, he obtained the bishopric of St. Andrews, and the see of Glasgow again became vacant.⁶

On 2nd January, 1258-9, about two months after the death of Bishop Bondington, the dean, the two archdeacons and other dignitaries along with the other canons of the cathedral, confirmed the liberties and customs of Sarum as applicable to their own church, and they each by oath undertook that if he should be chosen bishop he should, in the first year of his promotion, remove his "palacium," which was outside the Castle of Glasgow, and devote the whole of the site to dwellings for the canons, and in so far as the site might not be sufficient for those canons who had not dwellings, he should assign competent places elsewhere for their accommodation.⁷ Bishop

⁵ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 6.

⁶ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 304-6.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 208.

John was no party to this compact, and the design for building canons' dwellings did not come into operation in his time; but after his death, in 1268, the canons, while again confirming the liberties of the church, renewed their contingent obligation for removal of the "palacium" and the supply of sites for the requisite dwellings.⁸ What is meant by the term "palacium," as here used, is not perfectly obvious, but there seems to be good ground for believing that the castle was the bishop's place of residence and that the "palacium" proposed to be removed was the palisade surrounding the adjoining court or pleasure ground.⁹ In primitive times there may have been a fort here, as the remains of what seem to have been old earthworks in the vicinity were not wholly removed before 1599;¹⁰ and it is probable that in the thirteenth century the palisade surrounding the bishop's castle embraced grounds which were appropriated as sites for some of the manses erected subsequent to that date. Ground near the cathedral and castle being the most suitable as sites for such dwellings must have been much in demand, though it may be readily understood that the bishop in possession for the time would not be too eager to curtail his open space. Bishop John, however, with consent of his chapter, assigned to William of Cadihou, one of the canons, part of his garden, as marked off by the dean and the Official, master Adam de Dertford. Canon William, who had erected buildings and planted trees on the ground, was to have the use of the place for his lifetime as freely as any of the other canons held their dwellings around the church, and it was stipulated that a cloister should be constructed and maintained between the alienated ground and the bishop's garden.¹

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 213.

⁹ As the result of transitional nomenclature the designation "palacium" was sometimes transferred from the enclosing material to the enclosure itself. See *Trial by Combat*, pp. 86, 112, 210.

¹⁰ *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 195; *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 14.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 217.

By a statute passed in 1266, the bishop, with consent of the dean and chapter, made various regulations regarding the appointment and duties of residential vicars. Each canon was to appoint a competent vicar to take his place when he himself was on personal duty in his country parish, to pay him a suitable stipend, and to provide him with a cope and surplice. The dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and subdean required to reside at the cathedral for one half of the year, but residence for the fourth part of the year was sufficient for the other canons. Each canon was to have his own house in the city, and no dignity or prebend was to have a house annexed to it. On the occasion of a canon going away, the bishop and chapter were entitled to assign his house to such canon as they chose.² Latterly a different system prevailed, and most of the prebends had their own manses attached to them. It is probable that in course of time the scheme for the erection of dwellings, contemplated in 1258 and 1268, gradually came into operation, as most of the manses occupied at the time of the Reformation were situated at short distances from the cathedral and castle.

In the last year of his episcopate, and while residing abroad, Bishop John, "being zealous for the increase of divine service in the church of Glasgow," granted the lands of "Kermil" in pure and perpetual alms, for the sustenance of three chaplains who were to celebrate services in the church, for the weal of

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 212.* With one or two exceptions the canons were rectors or parsons of country parishes where dwellings had also to be supplied. By one of the General Statutes of the thirteenth century it was provided that every church should have a manse near it in which the bishop or archdeacon could be comfortably accommodated, and such manses were to be built at the joint expense of the parsons and vicars in proportion to their incomes from the parish, but the vicars, who had the main use of the buildings, were to be responsible for their maintenance (*Statutes of the Scottish Church*—Scottish History Society—vol. 54, p. 12). In a fourteenth century statute it is stated that by reason of the meanness of the houses the bishop of St. Andrews could not be entertained in the benefices within his diocese, and it was decreed that against his next visitation each holder of a benefice should make arrangements for building a suitable manse (*Ib.* p. 68).

the bishop's soul, of the soul of Sir Reginald de Irewyn, sometime archdeacon of Glasgow, and of the souls of their predecessors and successors and of all the faithful dead. The lands thus dedicated to the church had been purchased or redeemed by the bishop with the help of the archdeacon, but there was excepted the new mill which the former had erected on the River Clyde, with its site and the road leading thereto. Vacancies in the chaplainries were to be filled by the dean and chapter out of the body of vicars serving in the church, and a malediction was invoked on anyone who should violate the purpose of the endowment.³ Carmyle, as the lands are now called, is situated in the parish of Old Monkland, and lies on the right bank of the River Clyde, about four miles south-east of Glasgow Cross. Under the ancient name of "Kermil" the lands appear on record, in the twelfth century, as a gift from Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, to the abbey of Neubottle. Kings and popes from time to time confirmed the lands to the abbey; but in the chartulary a note appended to the transcript of a papal bull, dated 1273, mentions that the monks had then ceased to be owners.⁴ Bishop John's pious arrangements seem to have been disregarded by Bishop Robert Wischart, and his interference led the dean and chapter, in the year 1275, to appeal to the Pope for redress. The papal court thereupon authorised the bishops of Dunblane and Argyle to investigate the complaint, and some documents relating to the judicial procedure, but not the final decision, are recorded in the Register.⁵ That the lands ultimately reverted to the bishopric is shown by the fact that during the period embraced in the Bishops' Rental Books (1510-70) the entries of rentallers in Carmyle lands are numerous.

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 218.

⁴ *Registrum de Neubottle* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 91, 123, 191, 316; *Glasgow Protocols*, No. 1934.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 222-4.

CHAPTER XXIII

BURGH COURT—SALES OF HERITAGE—BRIDGE OVER CLYDE— STEEPLE AND TREASURY OF CATHEDRAL—TAXATION OF BENEFICES

DURING the first hundred years of its existence as a burgh, Glasgow had a favourable opportunity for increasing in trade and commerce to the limited extent attainable at that early period. Its overlords, the bishops, usually held high positions in the state, and were possessed of sufficient influence at court to secure the community against external encroachment or undue interference, while the peaceful condition of the country allowed the internal organisation to develop. The inhabitants were not slow in adapting themselves to usages and procedure which in the experience of older burghs had been found beneficial ; but there was one important distinction in the position of Glasgow. In royal burghs, though the sovereign is believed to have originally appointed the magistrates, the burgesses themselves were from an early date allowed to exercise that privilege. In Glasgow it is probable that the bishops from the first elected the magistrates, though, as in the earliest elections of which any record is extant, from leets primarily selected and presented by the burgesses, a system which was continued till the seventeenth century. Apart from this peculiarity, and the practice of the burgesses paying rents or burgh mail to the bishop instead of to the sovereign, administration and procedure in Glasgow were similar to those which prevailed in royal burghs.

One of the old burgh laws imposed restrictions against burgesses disposing of their heritage to the prejudice of their heirs. In the event of an owner requiring to part with heritage he was not entitled to sell it to a stranger till it was offered to the nearest heirs and they declined to become purchasers.¹ An illustration of the operation of this law in Glasgow occurs about the year 1268, when a burghess named Robert de Mithyngby, "compelled by great and extreme poverty and necessity," sold his property to Sir Reginald de Irewyn, then archdeacon of Glasgow. This was done with consent of the seller's daughter (his heiress) and brother, who both in the burgh court expressly consented to the transaction; "which land," it is also stated, "was offered to my nearest relations and friends, in the court of Glasgow, at three head courts of the year, and at other courts often, according to the law and custom of the burgh." In addition to the price paid by the purchaser he was liable in a yearly rent to the bishop and his successors, but the amounts are not stated. Of this property, which must have been situated in a street running east and west, as it had the land of Peter of Tyndal on the east and that of Edgar, the vicar, on the west, possession was given to the archdeacon in presence of the "prepositi" and bailies and twelve burgesses. "Prepositi" at that time occupied positions of authority in the burgh which it would be difficult to define. Perhaps the bailies were graded and the "prepositi" might be the first in rank; but they must not be confounded with the modern "provost," whose office did not come into existence in Glasgow till about the year 1453.² Among the witnesses

¹ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. p. 55.

² Sir James Marwick has fully discussed the subject in his *Introduction to Glasgow Charters*, pointing out that the term frequently occurs in royal charters, and that it had a wide application in varying circumstances. Thus the prepositus might be a cathedral dignitary, the second officer in a monastery under the abbot, the head of a religious college, a judge, or an official in a town or in an incorporation or guildry (*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. xvi, xvii).

were Sir Richard de Dundovir, Alexander Palmer and William Gley, designated "prepositi," being the earliest magistrates of the city whose names appear in any known record. To the original writing the common seal of the city was appended, and Father Innes notes that it was "on white wax, almost entire, and showed the head of the bishop, with mitre, namely St. Kentigern."³

In the year 1285 another burgess, constrained by poverty, sold to the Abbot and Convent of Paisley a property described as lying in the Fishergait, *prope pontem de Clyde*,⁴ thus establishing the important fact that by that time the river was spanned by a bridge. Fishergait corresponds with the modern Stockwell Street, where the first stone bridge was erected. The bridge referred to in 1285 was doubtless constructed of timber, and may have been there from a much earlier period. The bishops had valuable lands on the south side of the Clyde. Two hospitals were erected there, and for ready access to these it was desirable that something more convenient than a ford should be provided. One of the hospitals was used for the reception of lepers. An old burgh law required that those afflicted with leprosy should be put into the hospital of the burgh, and for those in poverty the burgesses were to gather money to provide sustenance and clothing;⁵ and another act

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 236; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 17-19. The document from which these particulars are obtained must have been one of those taken by Archbishop Beaton to Paris at the time of the Reformation. In his Transcript of Charters supplied to the town council of Glasgow in 1739, Father Innes gives the date of the document as "circa 1280 vel 1290," but as Archdeacon Irewyn who acquired the property is referred to in Bishop John's charter of 11th June, 1268 (*Reg. Episc.* No. 218) as then deceased, the transaction must have been completed before that date. In the copy printed in Gibson's *History of Glasgow* (p. 303), which seems to have been taken from another transcript, the date is 1268.

⁴ *Reg. de Passelet*, p. 399. Adam of Cardelechan was the name of the burgess, and, for authentication of the charter granted by him in favour of the abbot and convent, there were appended his own seal, together with the common seal of the burgh and the seal of the official of the court of Glasgow.

⁵ *Ancient Laws*, i. p. 28.

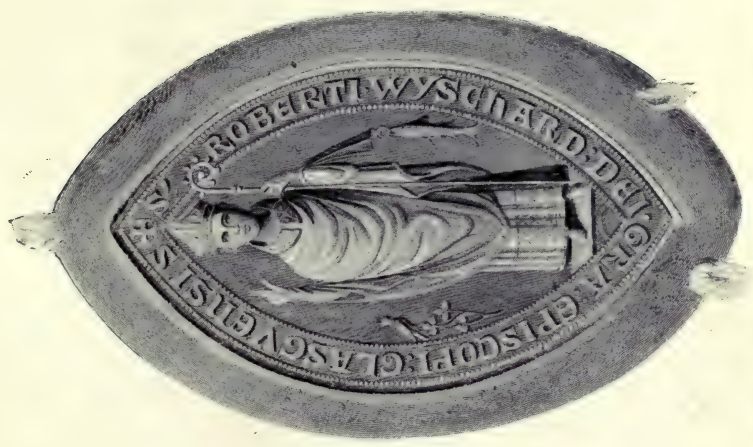
refers to the collection of alms "for the sustenance of lepers in a proper place outwith the burgh." ⁶ Perhaps in Glasgow special care was bestowed on lepers, as Joceline of Furness, writing in the twelfth century relates that St. Kentigern cleansed lepers in the city of Glasgow, and that at his tomb, likewise, lepers were healed.⁷ The precise date of erection is not known, but the hospital may have been established as early as the twelfth century. The other hospital, that of St. John of Polmadie, was governed by a master, keeper, or rector, was used for the reception of poor men and women, and was in existence at least as early as the time of King Alexander III.; but neither of this hospital nor of that which accommodated the lepers, is there much information procurable till a later date.

On his leaving Glasgow Bishop William Wischard was succeeded by his nephew, Robert Wischard, archdeacon of Lothian, who was elected apparently in 1271 and was consecrated by the bishops of Dunblane, Aberdeen and Moray, in the end of January, 1272-3. In the peaceful days which preceded the War of Independence the new bishop devoted much attention to the completion of the cathedral. Arrangements seem to have been made for the erection of a bell-tower or steeple and a treasury, and Maurice, lord of Luss, by a charter granted at Partick, in August, 1277, sold to the bishop all the timber necessary for the work, giving the artificers and workmen free access to his lands and woods for cutting down and removing the timber, all horses, oxen and other animals employed on the work being allowed free grazing during the time they were on his grounds. It has been conjectured that the steeple and treasury for the erection of which preparations were made in 1277 were the two western towers of the cathedral,⁸ but we

⁶ *Ancient Laws*, i. p. 72.

⁷ *St. Kentigern*, pp. 97, 117.

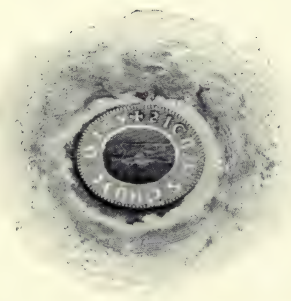
⁸ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), p. 17; *Medieval Glasgow*, pp. 38-40; *Reg. Episc.* No. 229.



AN EARLY SEAL AND SIGNET OF ROBERT WISHARD, BISHOP
OF GLASGOW.



COUNTER-SEAL USED BY ROBERT WISHARD, BEFORE
THE WARS OF THE SUCCESSION.





have no information as to the progress of the work, and the precise date of the erection of the towers is uncertain. Later on the bishop obtained supplies of trees from Ettrick Forest and other places for building in various parts of his diocese; but it was alleged that instead of using some of these for the woodwork of the cathedral they were employed in the construction of instruments of war for the siege of Kirkintilloch castle, then held by the English.⁹

In the early years of Robert Wischard's episcopate much anxiety prevailed in ecclesiastical circles with regard to the revaluation of church benefices for the imposition of taxation. For the general purposes of the church, for meeting the demands of Rome and her papal legates, as well as in bearing a proportion of expenditure for national requirements, funds had hitherto been raised on the basis of a valuation supposed to have been in existence as early as the reign of William the Lion, and the clergy strenuously resisted all attempts to vary it according to the progressive value of livings. The modes adopted in levying contributions were also sometimes objectionable. Thus, in 1254, Pope Innocent IV. granted to Henry III. of England a twentieth of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland and in 1268 Clement IV. renewed that grant and increased it to a tenth. The money was required for a crusade which was then being organised; but when Henry attempted to levy it, the Scottish clergy resisted and appealed to Rome, and it is believed that the English king did not succeed in raising much of the tenth in Scotland. Another demand was made in 1266, six merks being asked from every cathedral church and four merks from every parish church, to pay the expense of a papal legate who had been sent to England to compose the quarrels between Henry and his barons, but both king and clergy resisted the claim.

⁹ Burton's *History of Scotland* (1897 edition), iii. p. 429; *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 182; Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 1626; Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 306.

In the year 1275 Baiamund de Vicci was sent from Rome to collect the tenth of ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, for relief of the Holy Land, and as he was collecting not through the English king but for the Pope direct the clergy did not object so much to the imposition as to the introduction of a new basis of assessment. They insisted for their ancient valuation, as the approved rule of proportioning all church levies, but notwithstanding their intreaties the Pope adhered to his resolution of having the tenth of the benefices according to their true value. Known in this country as "Bagimont's Roll," the valuation of 1275 was long detested by churchmen; but as time wore on and livings increased in value, it had its turn of favour, and in an act of parliament passed in 1471 it was stipulated that collections made for the see of Rome should be conform to the "use and custome of auld taxation, as is contained in the Provincial buik, or the auld taxation of Bagimont."

Ancient valuations of church benefices for many parts of Scotland have been preserved, but neither any ancient valuation nor even that of "Bagimont" in its original state exists for Glasgow diocese. In the printed *Registrum Episcopatus* a copy of "Bagimont his Taxt Roll of Benefices," as contained in a sixteenth century transcript, is given, but in that shape it is regarded as evidence for nothing earlier than the reign of James V.¹⁰ Yet such as it is the Roll furnishes the earliest valuations we now have of Glasgow benefices, and an abstract may here be given. The thirty-two prebends possessed by the canons composing the chapter of Glasgow cathedral were of the cumulo yearly value of £4,796. The parsonages and vicarages, so far as remaining in connection with the diocese, but excluding several churches which had been transferred to monasteries or other religious houses, such as Rutherglen, which then belonged to Paisley Abbey, are

¹⁰ *Origines Parochiales*, vol. i. pp. xxxiv-xxxix.



SEAL OF THE CHAPTER OF GLASGOW, USED AS EARLY AS THE EPISCOPATE OF ROBERT WISHARD.

grouped in deaneries and the cumulo amount in each deanery is as follows :—Peebles, £786 ; Teviotdale, £666 ; Nithsdale, £1,353 ; Annandale, £346 ; Rutherglen, £906 ; Lennox, £501 ; Lanark, £900 ; Kyle and Cunningham, £533 ; Carrick, £260. The total valuation was about £11,000,¹ and the levy of a tenth of that amount would accordingly form a substantial contribution from the diocese.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* i. pp. lxii-lxx. Shillings and pence are omitted ; and it may be mentioned that there is a discrepancy of a few pounds between the amount of the sums stated and their summation in the print. The bishopric, which is not noted in Bagimont's Roll, is valued in another list at £1,700 (*Ib.* p. lxxi).

CHAPTER XXIV

TRANSFERS OF PROPERTIES—ST. MARY'S CHAPEL—ST. ENOCH'S CHAPEL—MONKS' HOUSE

TOWARDS the end of the thirteenth century a few documents relating to transfers of Glasgow properties afford information as to the procedure in such transactions and also furnish some incidental particulars regarding the position of the streets at that time. By a charter supposed to have been granted about the year 1290, Finlay Jager, son of Radulf Jager, burgess of Glasgow, being under the necessity of selling his heritage, in relief of his extreme poverty, and having according to the usual manner offered it to his heirs, in three successive courts of the burgh, sold it to Sir James Renfrew, a chaplain. The property must have stood somewhere south of the Drygate. It is described as a house, with yard and buildings, in the street which extended from the wall of the Friars Preachers upwards towards the castle, lying on the south side of the said street, between the land of the abbot and convent of the monastery of Kilwinyn and the land which Robert, the procurator, formerly a burgess of Glasgow, and Christina, his spouse, gave in augmentation of the lights of St. Mary the Virgin, in the crypt of the High Church of Glasgow. Andrew Jager, son of the granter, consented to the sale, and for greater security the seal of the seller, the common seal of the city, and the seal of the official of Glasgow, were appended to the charter. In the list of witnesses are included

the names of John Dubber and John, son of Waldeve, "prepositi" of the city.¹

The property in the charter next to be noticed probably formed part of a field at the Broomielaw, adjoining seven riggs of land given by John of Govan to the Friars Preachers about the year 1325.² This charter, which was granted by Oliver and Richard Smalhy, prepositi, and other prepositi and citizens of Glasgow, assembled in the court of the burgh, held on 15th September, 1293, sets forth that Odard, son of the deceased Richard Hangpudyng, for the weal of his soul and the souls of his predecessors, successors, and the rest of the faithful in Christ, gave to St. Mary's Light in the High Church of Glasgow, the half of seven roods of land, lying in the crofts outside the town, towards the west, between the land of St. Mary's light, in the chapel lower in the town, on the west, and the land of Christian, late spouse of Simon Govan, on the east. Sasine or possession was given in presence of Oliver, "prepositus," twelve burgesses, and Roger, son of Philip, and John Dubber, servants of the town,³ and the common seal of the city and seal of the official were appended to the charter.⁴

Thus is got the earliest extant reference to the Chapel of St. Mary, situated on the north side of Trongate, adjoining the Tolbooth. The time and circumstances of the erection of the chapel are unknown, but it is probable that shortly after the foundation of the burgh the burgesses established the chapel with the view of making provision for religious services appropriate to their needs and the custom of the period. The cathedral was a considerable distance from the market cross,

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 237. When the document was examined by Father Innes all the seals had been worn away.

² *Lib. Coll.* etc., p. 155; *postea*, p. 159.

³ John Dubber, here called a servant of the town, is designated "prepositus" in Jager's charter and "bailie" in the charter by Alan, the vicar, referred to *antea*, p. 117.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 248; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. 20, 21.

in the vicinity of which the mercantile and artizan classes had both their dwellings and places of business, and consequently the site chosen was well adapted for a chapel designed to serve the wants of the community. No other reference to the chapel has been noticed till 1384, in which year Walter Wan, of the diocese of Glasgow, was its chaplain.⁵

Properties in Fishergait belonging to the Knights Templars, to Paisley Abbey and to Neubotle Abbey, respectively, have already been referred to.⁶ In a burgh court held by John, son of Waldeve, miller, William, painter, and other prepositi and citizens of Glasgow, on Tuesday before the Feast of St. Katherine, Virgin and Martyr (25th November), 1295, Richard called Bruning, son of the late William Gley, appeared in court and, after the usual procedure in cases of sales on the ground of poverty, sold to the abbot and convent of Neubotle one of these properties, described as land, with houses thereon, lying in the Fishergait, between the land of William Scloyder on the south and the land of John Williamson, called Bradhy, on the north. The writing embodying this grant contains a declaration to the effect that if the seller failed to fulfil his part of the transaction he should pay £20, whereof one half was to go to the building of the church of Glasgow and the other half to the service of St. Enoch.⁷ If by "service of St. Enoch" the chapel of St. Tenu is meant, this is the earliest known reference to the building which was dedicated to the memory of the mother of St. Kentigern.⁸ In one view such a destination for part of the money would be quite appropriate, seeing the property in connection with which it was to be contributed

⁵ *Papal Reg.* i. p. 566.

⁶ *Antea*, pp. 74, 75, 127.

⁷ *Reg. de Neubotle*, No. 177.

⁸ In the *Papal Registers*, vol. iv. p. 86, Walter de Roulen is designated rector of the chapel of St. "Thanen" in 1370. Thanen seems here to be a misprint for Thaneu, a common form of the name of Kentigern's mother.

lay on the border of the croft on which the chapel was situated.

At the corner, on the south side of Rottenrow and west side of High Street, the abbot and convent of Paisley possessed a property long known as the Monks' House, which seems to have been acquired by them in the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. From title deeds recorded in the Abbey Registers it appears that Gilbert de Camera, burgess of Glasgow, to whom the bishop had given the property, sold it in his urgent necessity and under the usual court procedure, in 1283. Nicholas Sprewll was the purchaser, and his son-in-law, William de Bonkel, conveyed it to the abbey, by an undated charter in which it was described as land lying in Rattonraw and bounded by the street called the "Wynde" on the east. In the year 1321 Nicholas Sprowll confirmed the sale and bound himself to defend the monks in their possession of the property. Part of the ground was feued to a burgess in 1413, but the corner portion was retained by the abbey till about the time of the Reformation.⁹

⁹ *Registrum de Passelet*, pp. 382-7; *Glasgow Protocols*, Nos. 2660, 2723.

CHAPTER XXV

NATIONAL CALAMITIES—WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—WALLACE
AND THE BATTLE OF THE BELL O' THE BRAE—BISHOP
WISCHART—ENGLISH OCCUPATION

By a series of misfortunes in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the prosperous condition of Scotland was completely arrested, and for a long time the story which the annalist has to tell is one of overbearing oppression on the one side and of patriotic and ultimately successful resistance on the other. Through the loss of his children, two sons and a daughter, who all died within the years 1281-3, King Alexander III., when accidentally killed on 19th March, 1285-6, left as his successor to the Scottish throne an infant grand-daughter, Margaret the Maid of Norway, who survived him for no more than the short period of four years. On account of the divided interests of the claimants to the crown, chiefly in consequence of their landed estates being spread over both countries, and those situated in England being held of King Edward as feudal superior, that monarch's ambitious scheme for the union of the two kingdoms was not devoid of Scottish support, and but for the patriotism of some of the lesser barons and the feeling of sturdy independence which pervaded large masses of the people, his purpose might have been accomplished. During this critical period Glasgow must have had its share of the country's prevailing troubles, and though many of its citizens, barony men and churchmen, may have had their names inscribed on the Ragman Roll, it is known that Robert

Wischart, the warrior bishop, was not without local followers in his valiant contest for freedom.

Bishop Wischart was appointed one of the guardians of Scotland after the death of King Alexander, and throughout subsequent events, the interregnum of 1290-2, the inglorious reign of John Balliol, 1292-6, the interregnum of 1296-1306, Wallace's protectorate and the early years of Bruce's reign, the bishop took a prominent part in public affairs. He was keenly patriotic,¹ and though, under compulsion or urgent expediency, he swore allegiance to Edward, the oath was broken as often as the opportunity occurred.² As Cosmo Innes has observed, it was a time when strong oppression on the one side made the other almost forget the laws of good faith and

¹ Though in the elaborately formal record of proceedings which resulted in the selection of John Balliol as king no express disavowal of Edward's supremacy appears, independent chroniclers are not so reticent, and paraphrasing their statements, Wyntoun, in a passage marked, perhaps, more by poetical license than strict historical accuracy, ascribes to Bishop Wischart delivery of this spirited protest :

" Excellend Prynce (he sayd), and Kyng,
Yhe ask ws ane unleffull thyng,
That is superyoryté ;
We ken rycht noucht, quhat that suld be ;
That is to say, off our kynryk,
The quhillk is in all fredome lik
Till ony rewme, that is mast fre,
In till all Crystyanyté,
Wndyr the sown is na kyngdome,
Than is Scotland, in mare fredome.
Off Scotland oure Kyng held evyr his state
Off God hym-self immedyaté,
And off nane othir mene persowne.
Thare is nane dedlyke king with crowne,
That ourlard till oure Kyng suld be
In till superyoryté."

Wyntoun's *Chronicle* (Historians of Scotland), book viii. ch. v. p. 301, lines 821-36. Some words in the quotation may be glossed thus : " unleffull "—unlawful ; " We ken," etc.—we well know that should not be ; " kynryk "—country ; " rewme "—realm ; " sown "—sun ; " mene "—mediate ; " dedlyke "—mortal ; " ourlard "—overlord.

² A list of these occasions is given in Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 260-1.

humanity. The bishop was a friend and supporter of Wallace, and having joined the army gathered under Bruce and others, was among those who surrendered and made "peace" at Irvine in July, 1297.³

To about this time may be assigned the encounter known as the battle of the Bell o' the Brae. An animated passage in the metrical narrative of Harry the Minstrel describes how Wallace overcame a body of English troops in the streets of Glasgow. The story is circumstantially told and vouched by the expression "as weyll witnes the buk," suggesting that the minstrel was proceeding on something more substantial than oral tradition. Starting from Ayr one evening, Wallace and his band rode "to Glaskow bryg, that byggit was of tre," which they reached next morning at nine. Here the attacking party was formed into two divisions. One division, under the laird of Auchinleck, "for he the pasage kend," made a detour, and seems to have crossed the Clyde above the town, while the other division, headed by Wallace, marched up the "playne streyt" leading to the castle, and attacked the garrison in front. Then at the opportune moment Auchinleck's division rushed in by "the north-east raw" (*i.e.* the modern Drygait), "and partyt Sotheron rycht sodeynly in twyn." Thus pressed in front and surprised in rear, the garrison forces were completely routed, and fled to Bothwell, there joining another English army, who checked the further pursuit of Wallace and his men. The retreat is thus described :

"Out off the gait the byschope Beik thai lede,
For than thaim thocht it was no tyme to bide,
By the Frer Kyrk, til a wode fast besyde.
In that forest, forsuth, thai taryit nocht ;
On fresche horss to Bothwell sone thai socht.
Wallace followed with worthie men and wicht." ⁴

At that time, the open ground east of the Blackfriars' Kirk and the woods and fields beyond, would afford the readiest

³ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. Nos. 907-10.

⁴ *The Wallace*, book vii. lines 515-616.

route in the retreat to Bothwell. The narrative is true to the locality in its outstanding features; and, keeping in mind that Wallace, from his early days, was well acquainted with the district, that he had the co-operation of the bishop, and was on intimate terms with his co-patriots, the monks of Paisley,⁵ who had dwellings and dependents in Glasgow, and that these dependents had the opportunity of knowing and communicating to Wallace the most favourable time and place of attack, it would have been strange if some attempt had not been made to molest the English garrison. Notwithstanding the absence of notice in the scant remains of contemporary chronicles, and though some of the details are erroneous or exaggerated, there is reason to believe that the account of the battle of the "Bell o' the Brae" was founded on a real incident in the career of our national hero.

Bothwell, situated about eight miles south-east of Glasgow, to which the vanquished remnant fled, was long the headquarters of the English armies in Clydesdale. Bothwell castle, while occupied by the English towards the end of the thirteenth century, stood out a siege by the Scots for more than a year, but the garrison were at last starved into submission.⁶ From that time the castle seems to have been held by the Scots till retaken by the English in the autumn of 1301. During part of the time occupied by the latter siege, King Edward was in the vicinity and doubtless took an active part in directing operations. On 12th August, while the besiegers were still busy, he granted to Aymer de Valence the castle and barony of Bothwell, and all other lands which William de Moray had forfeited through his patriotism. In August Edward was in Glasgow, and took the opportunity of making devout oblations at the local shrines and altars. Offerings were made

⁵ See *The Abbey of Paisley*, by Dr. J. Cameron Lees (1878), chap. x. As a reward for the patriotism of the monks during the wars of Wallace and Bruce, the English burned their monastery in 1307 (*Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 28, 29).

⁶ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. Nos. 1093, 1867.

on the 20th of the month at the shrine of St. Kentigern ; on the following day at the high altar and at the shrine ; on the 24th in his own portable chapel, in honour of St. Bartholomew (whose day it was) ; again on 25th in his chapel, this last being a special offering on account of good news of the capture of Sir Malcolm Drummond. The king's oblations, costing in money seven shillings each, were continued in September, an offering having been made on the 2nd of that month in his portable chapel ; on the 3rd at the shrine of St. Kentigern ; and on the 23rd at the high altar and at the tomb of St. Kentigern. The tomb is expressly described as being situated "in volta," meaning apparently the crypt of the cathedral. On 6th September the sum of six shillings was given to the Friars Preachers as a contribution towards their food supply.

For prosecuting the siege of Bothwell Castle supplies of material were forwarded from Glasgow. In August timber was obtained from the neighbouring woods for the construction of a siege engine, brushwood was collected for hurdles to form a bridge, and night watchmen were employed to guard the implements and stores. Waggons were hired at Glasgow for carriage of the engine to Bothwell. Purchases of coal, iron, and tools were made at Glasgow, both during and after the siege, the implements so procured including anvils, hammers, chisels, nails, picks, shovels, an axe, a ploughshare, a grindstone, a cauldron, coffers and locks. Congratulations on the surrender of the castle were transmitted to Edward on 2nd October, by which time he had apparently left the district.⁷

Notwithstanding the siege and similar successes Edward was experiencing the difficulty of keeping the Scots under control, for no sooner had he secured submission in one district than trouble broke out elsewhere, and in this spasmodic warfare both

⁷ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. and iv. ; *Rhind Lectures* (1900), "The Edwards in Scotland," pp. 35, 36 ; *Reg. Episc.* p. xxxiii. Edward's usual offering of seven shillings was equal to about five guineas of the present day.

Bishop Wischart and the men of the barony had their share. In August, 1302, Pope Boniface VIII. wrote the bishop expressing astonishment that, as reported, he had been the "prime instigator and promoter of the fatal disputes which prevailed between the Scottish nation and King Edward," and calling upon him, by earnest endeavour after peace, to obtain forgiveness.⁸ This appeal had no immediate effect on the bishop's course of action, and in 1302-3 he was treated as a rebel, his estates were forfeited and parts of his lands in Glasgow barony were laid waste. Even Edward's collector could not get certain sums from the "farm of the burgh of Glasgow, because the tenants were destroyed by the Irish," apparently alluding to the Irish foot soldiers who formed a large section of the English army. There was also a deficiency in the barony collection, as distinguished from that of the burgh, because so much "land of the barony lay waste."⁹ The burgesses of Rutherglen, also, took the opportunity of discontinuing payment of tolls on their goods bought or sold in Glasgow.¹⁰

In consequence of Edward's energetic campaign of 1303, and the apparent hopelessness of further resistance, the bishop again became reconciled to Edward¹ and besought him to authorise the levying of tolls, as formerly, and to confirm the charters of the church, that he and his clergy might be paid their arrears.² That the desired restoration of temporalities was conceded may be inferred from a letter dated 10th April, 1304, in which Edward thanked the bishop, "dearly," for giving the prebend of Old Roxburgh to his (the king's) clerk who was about to be sent out of the country on special business, thus making it desirable that he should obtain immediate possession.³ In

⁸ Hailes' *Annals*, 3rd edition, i p. 330.

⁹ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. p. 424.

¹⁰ *Antea*, p. 100.

¹ In or about January, 1303-4, Edward had stated the conditions for receiving the bishop of Glasgow, William le Waleys, Sir David de Graham, Sir Alexander de Lindesey and Sir John Comyn (Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 1444).

² Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 1626-7.

³ *Ib.* No. 1502.

August, also, the bishop and chapter were in a position to give to the Friars Preachers the Meadow-well in Deanside, the water of which was to be led to their cloister.⁴

The friendly attitude thus subsisting between King Edward and the bishop was not long maintained. Sir William Wallace having been betrayed into Edward's hands had met his death in London in August, 1305. According to Blind Harry, the place of capture was Robrastoun or Robroystoun,⁵ situated in the barony, about four miles north-east from Glasgow Cross ; but some chroniclers, including Walter Bower, assert that Wallace was seized " at Glasgow," which, taken literally, would mean in the city itself.⁶ The actual place of capture is accordingly doubtful, but all accounts agree in crediting Sir John Monteith, governor of the castle of Dumbarton, with the chief part in the transaction. At this stage King Edward, deeming that Scotland was finally at his disposal, proceeded to supply it with a constitution, and an " Ordinance for the settlement of Scotland " was drawn up to his satisfaction.⁷ But before six months had elapsed the scheme became utterly inoperative, and the English king had virtually to recommence the work of conquest. In the spring of 1305-6 Robert Bruce took the field and forthwith the irrepressible bishop joined his standard, and it is said that from vestments in the cathedral he prepared the robes and royal banner for the coronation. Exasperated at this turn of affairs Edward, on 26th May, 1306, issued his commands for taking the most effectual means for seizing the bishop and sending him to the king. Shortly afterwards came the announcement that Wischart had been taken prisoner at the siege of Cupar castle, news which elicited

⁴ *Antea*, p. 117.

⁵ Book xi. lines 997, 1083.

⁶ *Pictorial History of Scotland*, i. pp. 776-7. John Major, in his *History of Greater Britain*, published in 1521, when he was principal Regent of the University, says that, " by a shameful stratagem, Wallace was seized in the city of Glasgow " (Scottish History Society edition, p. 203).

⁷ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 1691-2.



A LATER SEAL AND COUNTER-SEAL OF ROBERT WISHARD, BISHOP OF GLASGOW. THE COUNTER-SEAL REPRESENTS, IN COMPARTMENTS, SAINT KENTIGERN'S RECOVERY OF THE QUEEN'S RING.

from Edward the avowal that he was almost as much pleased with the capture of the bishop as if it had been that of the Earl of Carrick.⁸

The forfeiture of the bishop's interest in the temporalities of his see, which followed this new rupture, afforded an opportunity of bestowing on Wallace's captors part of their reward. It had been arranged that 40 merks should be given to the valet who spied Wallace, that 60 merks should be divided among those who assisted at his seizure, and that land of the yearly value of £100 should be assigned to Monteith.⁹ In part fulfilment, apparently, of the last of these grants, King Edward, on 16th June, 1306, instructed Aymer de Valence to give to Sir John de Meneteth the "temporality of the bishopric of Glasgow, towards Dumbarton"; but seeing that in course of time the revenues of the see would require to be applied to their legitimate uses, Sir John's possession was only to last during the king's pleasure.¹⁰ It is likely enough that the portion of the temporality vaguely described as "towards Dumbarton" consisted of the clearly defined area of the barony lands lying on the Dumbarton side of the Clyde and west side of the river Kelvin. These lands, including the "toun of Partik," were valued at £74 12s. 4d. old extent.

Bishop Wischart was removed to England and there kept in strict confinement for many years. While he was a prisoner in Porchester Castle, near Portsmouth, the Scottish king, Robert the Bruce, restored to him his churches, lands and possessions. This was done by a charter dated 26th April, 1309, in which sympathetic reference was made to "the imprisonments and bonds, persecutions and afflictions which a reverend father, lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of Glasgow, has

⁸ Bain's *Calendar*, Nos. 1777, 1780, 1786.

⁹ Palgrave's *Illustrations*, p. 295; *Wallace Papers*, No. XX.; as cited in Burns' *Scottish War of Independence*, ii. p. 134.

¹⁰ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. No. 1785.

up to this time constantly borne, and yet patiently bears for the rights of the church and our kingdom of Scotland.”¹ But, unfortunately, formal concessions of this sort were of no avail in procuring relief to the unhappy victim, and efforts in other directions for his release were likewise futile. With the view of thwarting applications to Rome for help, King Edward II., on 4th December, 1308, represented to the pope that the crimes, lese-majesty, and other offences of the bishop of Glasgow against the late king and himself, forbade any hope that he could be allowed to return to Scotland.² Two years later, Edward, hearing that the bishop, “who has sown such dissensions and discord in Scotland,” was busy suing for his deliverance at the court of Rome, with “leave to return to his own country, which would be most prejudicial to the king’s affairs there, and an encouragement to his enemies,” the English chancellor was instructed to concert measures for opposing the bishop’s restoration either to his office or his country, “pointing out his evil conditions and his oaths repeatedly broken, and anything else to induce the pope to refuse him leave even to return to Scotland.”³ After being summoned before the pope to answer for his offences against Edward I., he was sent back to England in November, 1313, “to be detained by the king at pleasure, till Scotland was recovered,”⁴ but following upon the military and political events of the following year, the final liberation of the bishop was secured. By that time, however, he had become blind, and he survived his long hoped-for deliverance only two years. He died on 26th November, 1316, and was buried in the crypt of the cathedral between the altars of St. Peter and St. Andrew. A dilapidated effigy now lying in the open arch of one of the cross walls, at the east end of the crypt, is supposed to have once covered his tomb.⁵

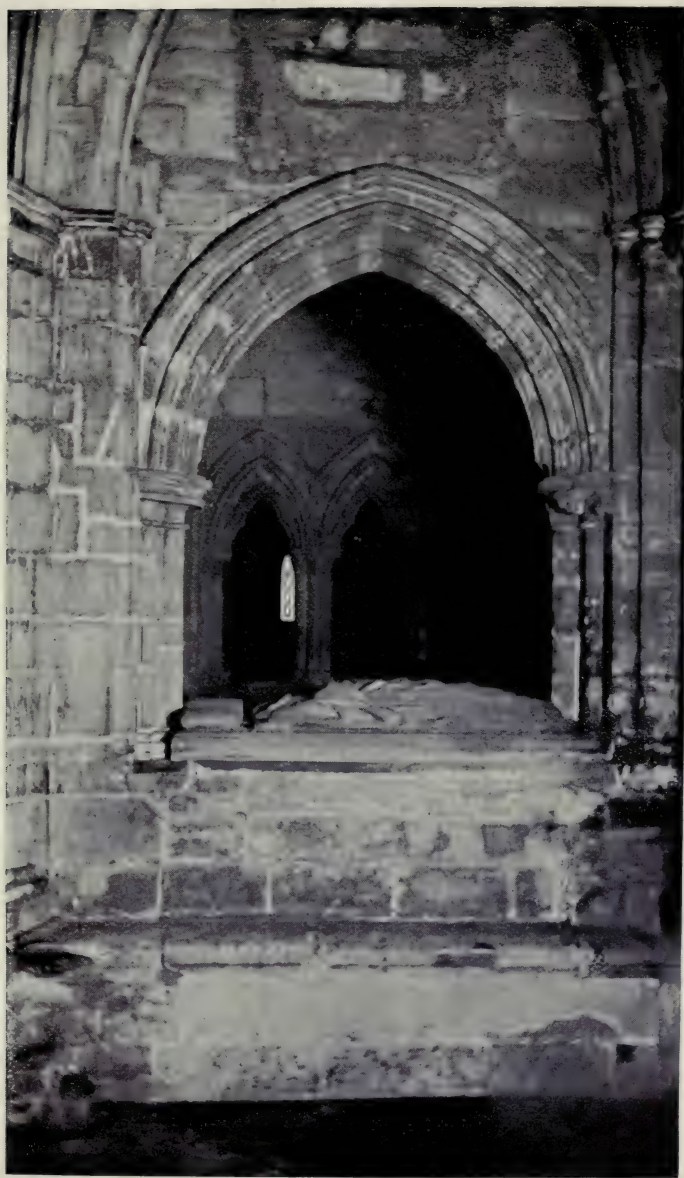
¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 21.

² *Bain’s Calendar*, iii. No. 61.

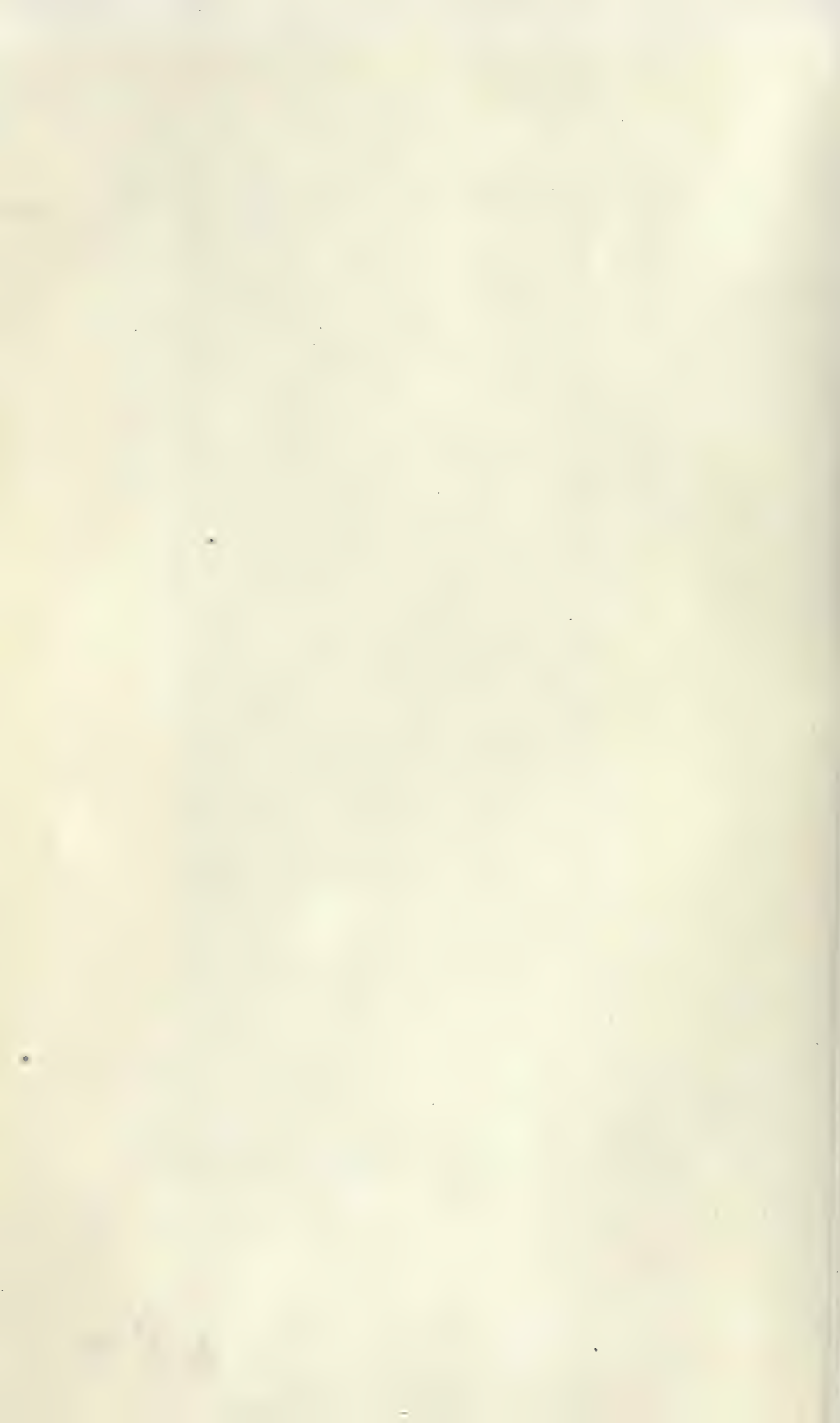
³ *Ibid.* No. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 342.

⁵ *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 412-3; *Mediaeval Glasgow*, pp. 58, 59.



MONUMENT OF BISHOP ROBERT WISHARD IN GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.



CHAPTER XXVI

BARONIAL REVENUES—APPOINTMENTS OF BISHOPS—CHARTERS
BY KING ROBERT—POLMADIE HOSPITAL—BARLANARK OR
PROVAND—CHAPEL OF ST. THOMAS—LOST SEAL—MANOR
OF LOCHWOOD

INTROMITTERS with the temporalities in the barony of Glasgow must have had a somewhat precarious experience during the early years of the War of Independence, and they were probably changed more than once according to the dominance of the party locally in authority at the time. In the beginning of 1309 Scotland was becoming consolidated as the result of Bruce's successes, and it was at this time that the charter to Bishop Robert, already referred to,¹ was granted. By this document, which was dated at Arbroath, 26th April, 1309, the king charged his officials and lieges to cause the bishop's churches, lands, rents and whole possessions and goods, "hitherto seized" by others, to be delivered to his chancellor, Bernard, lord abbot of Arbroath, and to Master Stephen of Donydouer, canon of the church of Glasgow, his chamberlain, or either of them, as vicars or vicar of the bishop.² At this time and during the next five years the bishop was confined in an English prison, so that he must have enjoyed little if any personal advantage under the new arrangement, but it may be assumed that the revenues of the see would thenceforth be applied for the benefit of those engaged in the

¹ *Antea*, p. 143.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 21-23.

performance of the duties of office and the administration of affairs.

Canon Stephen, as empowered by the charter, probably acted as vicar during the absence of the bishop, and on the death of the latter, in 1316, he was himself chosen bishop and proceeded to Rome to receive confirmation. Failing apparently to obtain the Pope's sanction, Bishop Stephen left Rome to return to Scotland, but he died in the course of the journey. In 1318 the Pope appointed John de Eggescliffe, of the Order of Preaching Friars, to the bishopric, and, meanwhile, the chapter of Glasgow, perhaps unacquainted with the proceedings of the Apostolic see, had chosen John de Lindesay as bishop. The Pope declared this latter election to be null, and in a similarly discordant mood the appointment of Eggescliffe was disregarded in Scotland. Having at last reported to the Pope that he got nothing from his bishopric, and that he was unable to govern and instruct the flock committed to his care, Eggescliffe was, in 1323, translated to a see in Ireland, and John de Lindesay was thereupon accepted by the Pope and duly consecrated.³

In the bulls and diplomacies on the national affairs of Scotland, it was long before the papal see acknowledged Bruce's right to the title of king,⁴ but the solemn address and appeal of the Scottish Parliament, adopted at Arbroath Abbey and forwarded to the Pope in 1320, had a powerful effect, and from that time intercourse between Rome and this country assumed a friendlier tone. In an admonitory bull, dated in July, the English king was exhorted to try conciliation with Scotland and negotiations in that line were commenced, but it was not till three years later, and after resort to hostilities in

³ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 309-11. At the time of his selection as bishop Lindesay was one of the canons of Glasgow.

⁴ Notwithstanding the attitude maintained at the Roman court a provincial council of the Scottish clergy, held at Dundee in February, 1309-10, recognised Bruce as the lawful king of Scotland (*A.P.S.* i. p. 460).

the interval, that peace was concluded between the two countries.⁵

In the years of his reign subsequent to the battle of Bannockburn many charters, mainly of confirmation, were granted by Bruce to the church, such renewals being necessary in some cases to restore to their proper destination revenues which had been misapplied during the more troublous times. By writings addressed to the burgh of Rutherglen and his bailies of Cadihou in 1315-6, and by precepts to his chamberlain, King Robert confirmed grants by his predecessors and authorised continuance of the yearly payment, from the fermes of Rutherglen and Cadihou, of 100 shillings for the stipend of a chaplain in the church of St. Kentigern; ten merks towards the stipends of the dean and subdean in that church; and forty shillings for the lights of St. Kentigern.⁶

One of the latest official acts of Bishop Robert was the appointment of Sir Patrick Floker as master and guardian of the Hospital of "Polmade," with power to exercise discipline over the brethren, sisters and pensioners. Floker was at the time connected with the church of Kilpatrick, and it was stipulated that he should employ a curate to officiate in that church during his absence. The bishop's writing is dated at Glasgow, on Friday after the Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist (25th April), in the year of grace 1316.⁷ By a charter dated at "Ruglen," on 28th May of the same year, King Robert directed that the masters, brethren and sisters of the hospital, here called the "Hospital of Polmade near (*juxta*) Ruglen," should freely enjoy all the privileges they had in the time of his predecessor, King Alexander, and specially that no one should seize the goods belonging to them in "Strablathy," or any other place, and that no one should trouble or molest them,

⁵ Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, ii. pp. 283-7.

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 259-62.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 263.

contrary to the royal protection.⁸ Three years later another patron crops up in the person of King Edward II. of England, who, when at York, in July, 1319, on the eve of his unsuccessful invasion of Scotland, issued presentations to a large number of prebends, churches and benefices in that country, and included in the list is a grant to William de Houk of the guardianship of the "Hospital of St. John of Polmadde in Cliddesdale."⁹ But it is not probable that this appointment took effect.

John de Lindesay, who obtained the bishopric in 1323, bestowed on the hospital a considerable tract of adjoining land. At that time the revenue was found to be insufficient for continuing the celebration of divine service and the maintenance of the poor brothers and sisters dwelling in the hospital, and the bishop gave for these purposes the east half of his adjoining lands of Little Govan,¹⁰ resulting apparently in an equal division between the bishopric and the hospital of the considerable area which lay between Gorbals lands and Rutherglen territory.

One of the presentations of King Edward in 1319 was in favour of Thomas de Newehaghe whom he had "appointed to the vacant prebend of Barlanark in the church of Glasgow,"¹ but here, as in the appointment to Polmadie Hospital, the nomination seems to have been disregarded. John Wyschard

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 265. "Strablathy," indicating the kirk and kirklands of Strathblane, was an endowment the origin of which cannot be traced. This connection with Strathblane gave the lords of Lennox an interest in the hospital, and in 1333 Earl Malcolm confirmed to the brothers and sisters freedom from all kinds of service, burdens and exactions, both as regards their own house and their church of Strathblane (*Ib.* No. 284).

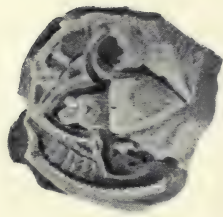
⁹ *Parish of Strathblane*, by J. Guthrie Smith, p. 170.

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 269.

¹ Bain's *Calendar*, iii. No. 658. At the same time, the king had appointed Robert de Coucy to the "vacant deanery of Glasgow" (*Ib.* No. 659), but there is no evidence that he entered into possession. In *Registrum Glasguensis* (Nos. 271 and 273) the dean in 1325 is named, variously, Robert de Bardis and Robert de Florencia.



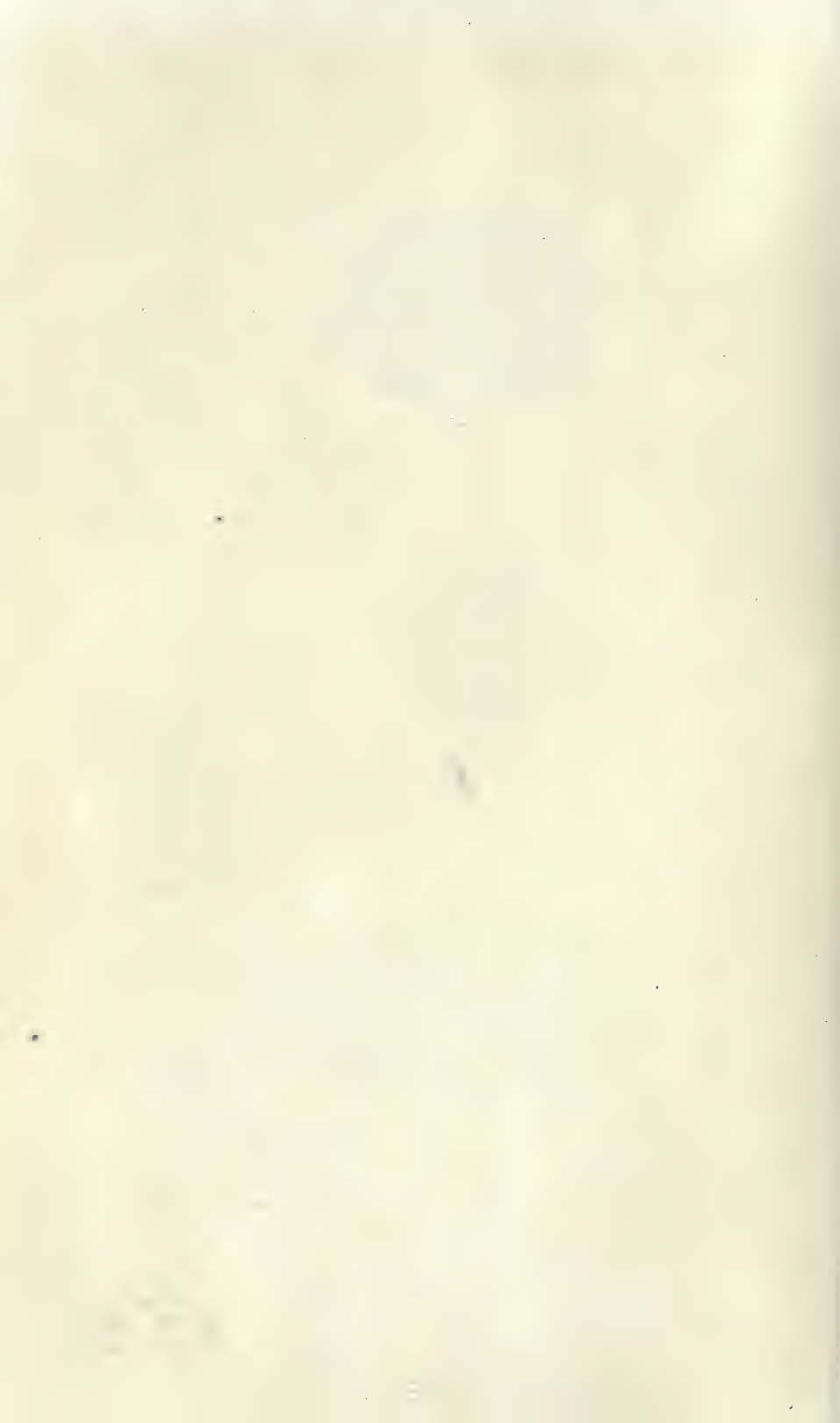
SEAL OF JOHN DE LINDESAY, BISHOP
OF GLASGOW, 1323-35.



FRAGMENT OF A SEAL USED BY THE
DEAN AND CHAPTER OF GLASGOW ON
THE FEAST OF THE 11,000 VIRGINS, 1304.



PRIVY SEAL OF THE CHAPTER OF
GLASGOW USED IN 1321.



is noticed as holder of the prebend both in 1321 and 1322.² The lands of Barlanark are understood to be those named "Pathelanerche" in Earl David's Inquisition, and are identified with "Barlannark cum Budlornac," which Bishop Herbert, previous to 1172, gave in augmentation of the prebend of Cadiho or Hamilton.³ Subsequently, Barlannark had been erected into a prebend by itself, and on 12th May, 1322, King Robert I. authorised John Wyschard, designated "canon of the prebend of Barlanark of the church of Glasgow," to hold his prebend of Barlanark in free warren, and forbade that any person should cut wood, hunt on the lands, or fish in the lochs, without licence of the prebendary.⁴ A "warren" right was considered to carry an inferior jurisdiction, as compared with free "forest," but both seem to have been independent of all except the sovereign authority. The vernacular *Provand*, by which name Barlanark was subsequently known, is understood to be the equivalent of the Latin *Prebenda*. It was a peculiarity of this benefice that the prebendary who held it, though a member of the cathedral chapter, was not, as far as can be ascertained, parson of any charge in town or country. Each of the other prebendaries, with the exception, perhaps, of Glasgow *Secundo*, who held the vicarage, was parson of a parish in the diocese.⁵

In 1320 Sir Walter Fitz-Gilbert, progenitor of the ducal family of Hamilton, entered into an arrangement with the chapter of Glasgow cathedral whereby a suit of priests' vest-

² *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 268, 272.

³ *Antea*, pp. 37, 54.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 272. The king was in Glasgow when this charter was granted. The witnesses were Bernard, abbot of Aberbrothoc, chancellor, Walter the steward, and James, lord of Douglas, and David de Lindsay, knights.

⁵ Cosmo Innes says "a prebend often consisted of land, or even of money-rent. One at Elgin was *prebenda centum solidorum*" (*Legal Antiquities*, p. 183). The lands of "Provand," comprising an estate of 2,000 acres, situated to the east of Glasgow, will hereafter come in for occasional notice. For a summary of their history, see *Glasgow Memorials*, pp. 208-12.

ments and plate, which he had given for use in services at the altar of the Virgin Mary, in the crypt of the cathedral, were allowed to be borrowed on certain occasions elsewhere, one of these favoured places being the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, where they might be used twice yearly, viz. on the Feast of the Commemoration of St. Thomas (29th December) and the Feast of his Translation (7th July).⁶ This is the earliest known reference to the chapel of St. Thomas in Glasgow. Though the chapel is supposed to have adjoined, or to have been in some way connected with the chapel of St. Tenu, we have little definite information on the subject.

At the time when the affixing of a seal to a document was the sole evidence of its authenticity, the safe custody of the matrix was essential to avert the risk of fraud. Now the matrix of Bishop Lindsay's seal happened to be lost, and to guard against any damage or injury that might be sustained through its possible use while beyond the bishop's control, protests were taken by him with declarations to the effect that any documents bearing the impressions of the seal from the date of its disappearance would be null and void. These protests and declarations were recorded by John de Quincey, notary public, in an instrument which sets forth that on 23rd April, 1325, the bishop appeared in his court at Glasgow, in presence of the notary and witnesses, and stated that his seal had been lost and that if found it was in nowise to be afterwards used, all documents to which it might be affixed being of no effect. The seal is described as containing the form or image of the blessed Bishop Kentigern, with the shield of a nobleman, William de Coucyaco, on one side, and a fish bearing a ring in its mouth above it, and the bishop's own shield on the other side, with a little bird over it ; and the name of the bishop was also inscribed on the seal. The instrument then narrates that on 30th April the bishop, while dwelling at his manor

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* No. 267.

de Lacu,⁷ affirmed that the seal which was lost by Robert Barkow, near the chapel of St. Mary of Dumbarton, had been found by Sir James de Irwyn, a monk of Paisley, and returned to him; and to complete the official record which it was thought necessary to preserve, the bishop, on 18th May was present at a meeting of the cathedral chapter when the seal was produced, and after three impressions had been taken on red, white and green wax respectively, the matrix was publicly broken. The instrument to which these impressions and the common seal of the chapter were attached, the bishop then directed to be faithfully preserved in the treasury of the cathedral.⁸

⁷ The dwelling on the south side of the Bishop's Loch, otherwise called the Manor of Lochwood, about six miles east of Glasgow Cross. The bishops of Glasgow retained this residence till the time of the Reformation. A chapel was also connected with the manor from at least the end of the fourteenth century (*Reg. de Passelet*, p. 108).

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 271. The instrument was one of the documents taken by Archbishop Beaton to France at the Reformation. In the transcript supplied to Glasgow town council, in 1739, Father Innes notes that the seal in red wax was almost entire but that the other three had nearly disappeared.

The witnesses named in the instrument are Sir Robert de Bardis, dean, Sir Walter de Roull, precentor, Master William Comyn, chancellor, Sir John Wyssard, archdeacon of Glasgow, Master William of Yetam, archdeacon of Teviotdale, John Flemyne, the bishop's official, "and many other canons, members of the chapter."

CHAPTER XXVII

KING ROBERT—REIGN OF KING DAVID AND EPISCOPATE OF
BISHOP RAE—TEMPORALITIES OF BISHOPRIC—BISHOP-
FOREST—PAPAL REGISTERS—ENDOWMENTS OF FRIARS
PREACHERS—GLASGOW BRIDGE

A CHARTER granted to Aberdeen in 1319, and another to Edinburgh in 1329, by King Robert I., bear early evidence of the practice which latterly became general of substituting for the rents payable by burghs fixed annual feuduties, not subject to those fluctuations which were liable to occur under earlier arrangements. The burghs thus became feudal vassals of the crown, a position which was apparently open to the acceptance of any royal burgh, and it was perhaps, as has been surmised, in consequence of their being viewed in this relationship that the burghs were represented in the famous parliament, held at Cambuskenneth on 15th July, 1326, when the lay estates of the kingdom, specially named as the earls, barons, burgesses and free tenants of the realm, granted an annual revenue to the king, certain crown exactions were freely abandoned, and all taxes and impositions without the authority of parliament were declared illegal.¹

As the burgh of Glasgow did not hold direct of the sovereign, or pay rent to the crown, it could not apply for a feu-charter, but apparently those in authority considered it desirable to have the burgh's market and trading privileges renewed, and

¹ *A.P.S.*, i. p. 475.

on 28th July, 1324, King Robert ratified and confirmed the charter granted by King Alexander II., in 1225, which original charter was repeated *verbatim* in the body of the new grant. Under the authority thus renewed the burgh was fortified with all the liberties and customs possessed by any royal burgh, and the burgesses were to have the king's firm peace and protection in their trading journeys throughout the kingdom.²

Bruce's charter being mainly for the advantage of the trading community was put into the custody of the magistrates and was not among the cathedral muniments which were removed to France at the time of the Reformation. It forms No. 1 of the Inventory of the City's Writs, compiled in 1696, and must then have been in its place, but through some not very creditable want of care it had disappeared by the time it was required for the purpose of being included in the printed volume of Glasgow Charters. A like fate has unhappily befallen No. 2 of the Inventory of 1696. This was a charter, also by King Robert, dated 15th November, 1328, and confirming the charter granted by King Alexander III. in 1275, whereby the bishop and his men of Glasgow were authorised to go to and return from Argyle with their merchandise freely and without any impediment.³ The loss of this charter is of the more consequence seeing it embraced *verbatim* that of 1275, of which neither original nor transcript exists.

Following on the treaty of Northampton, in 1328, and the marriage of Prince David with the Princess Joanna, sister of the English king, Edward III., amicable intercourse between the two countries was resumed, and one of Bruce's latest acts was the writing of a letter to King Edward calling attention

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 23. This charter was granted while the king was at Scone but he had been at Glasgow on 10th and 13th, and perhaps other days in June preceding (Marquis of Bute's "Itinerary of King Robert," *Scottish Antiquary*, xiv. p. 19).

³ *Ib.* p. 24. The king was in Glasgow at this time.

to the custom duty exacted from Scottish merchants on entering or leaving English ports, by sea or land, and asking that the same privileges should be given to Scottish merchants as the English would wish their merchants to enjoy in Scottish ports. The letter is dated 3rd May, 1329, and was written from Cardross, where Bruce died on the 7th of the following month.⁴

King David II. was only five years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and at first government in his name had to be conducted by successive guardians of the kingdom. In aggravation of the usual disadvantages of minority rule, Edward Balliol, son and heir of the unlucky King John, assisted by an English army, partly composed of those barons who had been disinherited of their Scottish estates, invaded the country and met with such an amount of success that he took the title of king and was crowned at Scone in September, 1332. Like his father, "King" Edward of Scotland manifested no zeal for Scottish independence, and he not only acknowledged the English king as "lord paramount," but also formally conveyed to him the southern counties of Scotland, and these districts were thereupon placed under the charge of English officials. As an illustration of the working of this transfer it may be mentioned that Edward's sheriff of Roxburgh, in the years 1335-7, accounted for his intromissions with the rents of the manors of Lillesclif, Alnrum and Ashkirk, parts of the temporalities of the bishopric of Glasgow, and out of these rents the abbots of Melrose and Neubottle were allowed the sum of £50.⁵ In 1335-6 the sheriff of Dumfries accounted for 13s. 4d. received from the land of "Benneueryk," belonging to the bishop of Glasgow, and formerly valued at 20 merks, which land was then in the king's hand on account of the vacancy in the see. The lands here referred to are apparently those of Bishop-

⁴ Bain's *Calendar*, iii. No. 984.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 322, 375.

forest, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright and near the Dumfriesshire border.⁶ The right of disposal of these lands, but under a different name, was shortly after this claimed by Edward Balliol. By a charter dated 21st September, 1347, Edward, "king of Scots," granted to John de Denton, an Englishman, for his good and praiseworthy service, "the forest of Garnery, which with all its belongings was possessed by William, bishop of Glasgow, an enemy and rebel against us, and which by forfeiture of the same bishop came into our hands."⁷ As in the sheriff's account the lands in the charter are stated to be of the value of 20 merks yearly, there seems to be no doubt as to their identity, especially as the bishops of Glasgow were not possessed of temporalities other than Bishopforest in this locality.⁸

During the invasion of Scotland in July, 1335, King Edward, with a numerous force, entered the country by Carlisle, while another army, commanded by Balliol, advanced by Berwick. After ravaging the country the two divisions united at Glasgow, and thence marched towards Perth. They met with no organized opposition, the country through which they passed being completely deserted by the inhabitants, who retired to inaccessible districts, taking their cattle and provisions with them.⁹

Bishop Lindsay, unlike the "rebel" William, adhered to the party of Edward Balliol, and when the latter was at Glasgow, on 25th September, 1333, in the second year of his "reign," he confirmed his father's charter securing the church in annual revenues payable furth of the farms of Cadihou

⁶ *Antea*, p. 111; Bain's *Calendar*, iii. p. 318.

⁷ *Transactions of the Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society* (1916-18), 3rd series, vol. v. p. 257.

⁸ In the charter whereby the archbishop of Glasgow granted Bishopforest to feuars, in 1613, it is described as a 20 merk land of old extent (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* vii. No. 1025).

⁹ Hailes' *Annals*, ii. pp. 219-20; *Pictorial History*, i. p. 190.

and Rutherglen. In this confirmation charter many of the disinherited lords are named as witnesses.¹⁰ It would almost appear that the bishop's adherence to Balliol did not, at least in later years, embrace attachment to the English king, as it is stated that in the year 1335, while on one of two ships sailing from Flanders, with many Scots on board, he was taken prisoner by the English and died from wounds which he received at the time of the capture. The see remained vacant till February, 1336-7, when John Wyschard, archdeacon of Glasgow, was chosen bishop and duly consecrated, but his episcopate was brief, as in consequence of his death another vacancy is noted on 11th May, 1338.¹

William Rae, precentor of Glasgow, was appointed bishop in 1338-9, and he retained the episcopate till his death in 1367. His name does not often occur in connection with the public affairs of the period, but in the published Calendars of Papal Registers there are notices of many missives transmitted to him from Rome. One of the more interesting of these was a mandate, dated 23rd January, 1347-8, authorising the bishop to give dispensation to the future king of Scotland, there designated "Robert, Lord of Stratgrif, knight," and Elizabeth More, parents of a "multitude" of children, allowing them to intermarry, notwithstanding the impediments of consanguinity and affinity. This concession was granted at the request of David, king of Scotland, Robert's uncle, and of Philip, king of France, and on condition that Robert should found a chaplainry within the church of Glasgow.² Again, by a man-

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 283.

¹ Dowden's *Bishops*. p. 313. Some uncertainty, formerly entertained regarding the succession of bishops between 1316 and 1339, has been almost wholly removed by information contained in recent publications and summarised by Bishop Dowden (*Ib.* pp. 309-13).

² *Papal Reg.* iii. p. 265. The stipulated chaplainry was founded by Robert on 12th January, 1364-5, with an endowment of ten merks yearly payable from lands in Stirlingshire (*Reg. Episc.* No. 302).



SEAL OF JOHN WYSCHART, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1337-8.

date dated 2nd May, 1355, the bishop was entrusted with another dispensation, this time for the marriage of Robert, here designated "steward of Scotland," and Euphemia, relict of John, earl of Moray, who were related in the fourth degree of kindred and the third of affinity.³ These dispensations were not known to Hector Boece and George Buchanan, who in their historical works expressed doubts as to the legitimacy of Robert III.; and, in refutation of this calumny, Father Innes and the other charter scholars of the Scots College in Paris who, in the end of the seventeenth century, came upon documents preserved among the Glasgow muniments disclosing evidence on the subject, were elated with their success. The information contained in the Glasgow collections led to investigation at the Vatican and the discovery of the original documents,⁴ the purport of which was communicated to the bishop of Glasgow by the mandates above referred to.

Notwithstanding the many disappointing events which happened during David's reign, and the occasional discouragements resulting from the acts and conduct of the king, Scotland was never without its band of loyal subjects, an irresistible barrier to the complete surrender of its independence. Fortunately Edward of England, in consequence mainly of the drain upon his resources in the long contest with France, was eventually disposed to adjust terms with this country, and by a treaty entered into in 1357, about a year after Edward Balliol had renounced the "royal dignity" in his favour,⁵ he consented to King David being released from captivity, in consideration of a ransom which, exorbitant as it was, all classes of the community agreed to pay.⁶ But though the

³ *Ib.* p. 547.

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* pp. xxxix, xl.

⁵ Bain's *Calendar*, iii. No. 1603 (27th January, 1355-6). Taken prisoner at the battle of Durham (or Neville's Cross) on 17th October, 1346, David had been eleven years in captivity.

⁶ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. pp. 194-9; Bain's *Calendar*, iii. 1648, 1650.

prelates, secular and regular, as well as the nobles and merchants of the realm, had entered into this undertaking, Pope Innocent VI., on being applied to for a ratification, stated that "considering the loss it would cause to the said prelates he is in conscience unable to grant it."⁷ Though the evidence on the subject is not quite complete, there are grounds for believing that the ransom money, payment of instalments of which was a heavy burden on the country for many years, was never fully settled.⁸

Subsequent to his return from captivity there are confirmations by King David of several endowments of the church of Glasgow,⁹ but on the other hand there is indication that part of the dowry of his second queen, Margaret Logie, was obtained from the bishopric. By a charter, granted at Edinburgh on 18th May, 1367, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, constituted Sir William of Kirkyntulach, master of the hospital of Polmadie, within the bishopric of Glasgow, which hospital, it is added, was at her disposal through the grant by the king to her of part of the bishopric. Sir William was to have the full administration of the goods and rents of the hospital for his lifetime, he sustaining all burdens and services exigible therefrom.¹⁰

Letters of protection were granted by King David to the Friars Preachers in general, in 1357, and by letters patent, in 1362, he specially took the prior and brethren of Glasgow, their lands and men, their whole goods, movable and heritable, spiritual and temporal, into his lasting peace and protection. In 1360, also, he had made a donation of two merks

⁷ *Papal Reg.* iii. p. 595.

⁸ *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. p. lv. Contributions for the ransom as well as for the maintenance of King David were levied from Glasgow along with the other burghs. Thus between the years 1365 and 1373 the burgh, by six consecutive payments, contributed in all £28 7s. 9d. (*Ib.* vol. ii. pp. 257-432).

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 298, 312.

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 307.

to the convent of the Friars Preachers in Glasgow.¹ By this time the Friars had received several other donations and endowments. In 1314, Guyllascop MacLauchlan, of Argyll, bestowed on them forty shillings, yearly, for the upkeep of their buildings and repair of their church ornaments, or for any other pious uses in the services of the church, the money to be payable from the rents of the granter's lands of Kilbryd, near his tower called Castellachlen, on the shore of Loch Fyne.² In the following year King Robert gave for the lights and other works of the church twenty merks, yearly, from the rents of Cadihou in the Vale of Clyde.³

The next grant to be noticed is embodied in a charter without date but supposed to belong to this period, or perhaps about 1325. By this charter John of Govan, burgess of Glasgow, for the weal of his soul and of the souls of his ancestors and successors, and all the faithful dead, in praise and glory of Almighty God, and of the glorious Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, in honour of whom the church of the Friars was named, gave to the prior and convent of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow, for the support and necessary repair of their church, and of the ornaments of the chief altar thereof, several lands, tenements and annual rents. These consisted of eight riggs of land lying in the field of Broomielaw and yielding five shillings yearly, seven of these riggs being described as lying between the land of Sir Walter of Roule on the east and the land of St. Mary,⁴ possessed by John Wyschard, on the west, and the eighth rigg as lying between the land of

¹ *Fratrum Predicatorum*, pp. 159-60; *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. p. 51.

² *Lib. Coll.* etc. p. 152.

³ *Ib.* p. 153. The charter was sealed at Ayr on 28th April, 1315, in presence of Edward Bruce, the king's brother, Thomas Ranulph, his nephew, Walter the steward, Bernard, abbot of Arbroath, his chancellor, and Sir James of Douglas, knight.

⁴ *Antea*, p. 133. John of Govan had probably succeeded to the land which belonged to Christian, spouse of Simon of Govan, in 1293.

Walter Rule on the west and the land of Agnes Brown on the east ; three riggs of land held by Richard Schort for payment of 30d. yearly, and described as lying in the Croupis, being perhaps part of the land latterly known as Cribbs Croft, which occupies part of the space between the present George Street and Square and Rottenrow ; two tenements, one of them yielding thirty pennies and the other three shillings yearly ; six shillings and "two days in harvest," being the yearly rent of a house in High Street ; forty pennies payable yearly from a tenement on the east side of Fishergait ; a tenement on the north side of Gallowgait, yielding four shillings yearly ; and five shillings yearly payable furth of a tenement on the north side of the place or cloister of the Friars.⁵ The last of the endowments known to have been bestowed on the Friars during King David's reign was that of Alan, lord of Cathcart, who gave to them twenty shillings yearly from his lands of Bogtowne, near Cathkert, for the purchase of oil for their lamps. The charter embodying this grant is dated at "Cathkert," 14th August, 1336.⁶

It is in consequence of his name having been associated with speculations regarding the erection of the first stone bridge over the River Clyde, at Glasgow, that Bishop Rae comes prominently into notice in connection with the history of the city. "This prelate," says M'Ure, "was no small benefactor to the town : for, upon his own charge, he built the stately bridge of eight arches over the river of Clyde ; the third

⁵ *Lib. Coll.* etc. pp. 155-8.

⁶ *Ib.* pp. xlv. 158-9. The Lord of Cathcart had fought by the side of Bruce and survived to recount his adventures to Barbour, who thus refers to him in his *Metrical History* :

"A knycht, that then wes in his rowt
Worthi and wycht, stalwart and stout,
Curtaiss, and fayr, and off gud fame,
Schyr Alane off Catkert by name
Tauld me this taile, as I sall tell."

—Barbour's *Bruce* (1869), b. vii. l. 113-7.

arch at the north end thereof was built by the Lady Lochow, and the bishop built the other seven, which still remains a monument of his bounty and liberality to his episcopal seat.”⁷ M’Ure also states that the lady who built the third arch was Marjory Stuart, daughter of Robert, first duke of Albany, who married Duncan Campbell, Lord Lochow, the first of the family to assume the designation of Argyle.⁸ But the bracketing of Bishop Rae and Lady Lochow as contemporaries seems an anachronism, for Duncan Campbell lived till the year 1453 and could not have been married till long after the death of Bishop Rae in 1367. Nor can reliance be placed on the statement, presumably a tradition in M’Ure’s time, that the bridge owed its construction to Bishop Rae. For one thing, the time was unpropitious. Added to the distractions caused by national and civil wars and the frequent want of a settled government, Scotland was ravaged by the pestilence in 1350. For these and other reasons the country was not in a prosperous condition, and Glasgow, sharing in the general depression, could scarcely have been then in a position to enter upon such an extensive undertaking. Nor is it likely that seven arches of such a structure could be built on the sole charge of the bishop. On this point tradition, voiced by M’Ure, could not be expected to speak with authority in 1736. In the MS. of Henry the Minstrel, written in 1488, it is stated that the bridge of Wallace’s time “*was of tre,*”⁹ the inference being that the bridge of 1488 was built of a different material. There is no extant document of an earlier date bearing on the subject. In 1571 the bridge was referred to as having been damaged by “*great trowpes*” of ice, and in 1618 it was described as “*ane of the most remarcable monuments within this kingdome,*” and as being very much decayed and at the point of ruin. In

⁷ M’Ure’s *History of Glasgow* (1830 edition), p. 15.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 53.

⁹ *The Wallace*, b. vii. l. 533. Again in b. iv. l. 100, “*Our Clyd that tyme thar was a bryg of tre.*”

1654 stones were falling off, showing signs of dilapidation ; and in 1671 the southmost arch gave way. These facts indicate considerable age, and it seems evident that if the bridge was not erected in the fourteenth century, it probably belonged to the early part of the fifteenth century. Originally it was only twelve feet in width. In 1777 ten feet were added to the upper side, and as thus widened the bridge remained till about the year 1850, when it was replaced by the present Victoria Bridge.¹⁰

In confirmation of the statement that the third arch of the bridge was built by Lady Lochow, M'Ure mentions that "her head is cut out of stone upon the pillar or but-ridge thereof"; and, having mentioned that she also built the Leper Hospital, near the south end of the bridge, he adds that "her effigies was likewise cut out in stone, and erected upon the buildings of the said hospital."¹ Lady Lochow was probably married towards the end of the fourteenth century and was alive in February, 1419-20, when she and her husband were granted the privilege of a portable altar. But she seems to have died shortly thereafter, as on 17th January, 1422-3, a dispensation was granted to her husband to enter into a second marriage.² Taking all these circumstances into account, it appears that if Lady Lochow had any hand in its construction the bridge can scarcely have been erected in Bishop Rae's time. M'Ure cites no documentary evidence in support of the statement that this lady endowed the hospital, and, on the other hand, most of his statements on the subject are clearly

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 146, 300; *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 296; iii. pp. 153, 161; vii. pp. 450, 532. Dr. Macgeorge says: "The old foundations had been laid on beams of oak, and it is interesting to know that when these were taken out after the lapse of five hundred years, they were found to be as fresh as when first put in" (*Old Glasgow*, 1880 edition, p. 254). When the works for the preservation of the "Auld Brig" of Ayr were in progress a few years ago, it was found that there also the structure had been raised on oak foundations (*The Brig of Ayr*, by James A. Morris, 1910).

¹ M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, p. 53.

² *Papal Reg.* vii. pp. 259, 336.

erroneous. The discrepancies are, perhaps, partly to be explained by supposing that tradition had confounded the leper hospital with the hospital of Polmadie, and the daughter of the first duke with the wife and widow of the second duke of Albany. Isabella, eldest daughter of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, was espoused to Murdoch, afterwards second duke of Albany, in 1391. On his return from captivity, King James I. wreaked fearful vengeance on the Lennox and Albany families, and this lady, in the course of two days, lost her eldest son, her father, her husband, and another son, all by the hands of the executioner. The remaining son fled to Ireland, and died soon afterwards. Retaining her titles, the Countess of Lennox and Duchess of Albany lived till about the year 1460, having a few years previously transferred the endowments of the hospital of Polmadie to her collegiate church of Dumbarton. Contemporaneously with that transfer, the Friars Preachers received from the lady an endowment from her lands of Balagan, for the weal of her soul, of the souls of her husband, her father and her three sons. Not improbably, therefore, it was the good deeds of the Duchess of Albany which, through errors in memory and tradition, had, in the course of three centuries, been inadvertently attributed to Lady Lochow.

CHAPTER XXVIII

REIGNS OF KINGS ROBERT II. AND III.—BISHOPS WARDLAW
AND GLENDONWYN—DUKE OF ALBANY—FRENCH ARMY—
BURGESSES—WEEKLY MARKET—ST. MARY'S CHAPEL—
PREBEND OF GLASGOW SECUNDO—ROBES, ORNAMENTS
AND LIGHTS OF CATHEDRAL—TIMBER STEEPLE—ALIENA-
TION OF CADDER.

ROBERT II., the first of the Stewart kings, had been early destined for the throne, a parliament held in 1318 having declared him heir to the crown in default of male issue of his grandfather, Robert I. On the birth of David, in 1323-4, Robert ceased to be heir-presumptive, but that position was restored in 1329. He was chosen guardian of the kingdom in 1338 and again in 1346, and on the death of his uncle, on 22nd February, 1370-1, he became King of Scots in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The new king was of a peaceful disposition, and as the English nation at that time had its own special troubles to contend with, his reign of nineteen years was not eventful. Occasional entanglements there were, such as those consequent on the league with France and the outbreaks of unruly members of the Scottish nobility, leading to border raids, invasions and counter invasions on a small scale, the battle of Otterburn, in the year 1388, being the most notable.¹ Interruption to

¹ A full contemporary account of the battle of Otterburn is given in Froissart's *Chronicles*, together with an account of "the manner of the Scots and how they can war" (Globe Edition, 1895, p. 16).

When a French army landed in Scotland, in 1385, difficulty was experienced

rural labour and the consequent shortage of agricultural produce were amongst the worst effects of these military incursions, conditions of scarcity being indicated by the frequent licences granted by the English king to the nobles and merchants of Scotland for importing grain into the country, some of it coming from Ireland. But it is known that the commercial spirit of the country was on the increase and that the trade with Flanders, in which, however, the ports on the eastern seaboard were mainly concerned, was conducted with much activity. Though the western districts may not have directly participated in the advantages of the growing Flanders trade they had some compensation in being largely exempt from warlike devastation, as the movements of troops were chiefly confined to the south and east borders of the country. In the public records Glasgow is occasionally mentioned in connection with visits of the king, who it may be noted passed much of his time in residence at Rothesay Castle. On 20th September, 1382, the king granted a charter "at Glasgu," and on 21st September, 1384, other royal charters were granted "at Glasgow, in the time of our council held there."²

Walter Wardlaw, Archdeacon of Lothian and a Canon of Glasgow, was, "by apostolic authority," appointed Bishop of Glasgow, as successor to Bishop Rae, on 14th April, 1367. During Wardlaw's episcopate the great papal schism occurred, and in 1378 Scotland joined France and other countries in

in accommodating such a number of soldiers. Edinburgh, where there were "not in the whole town four thousand houses," lodged so many, and the remainder were quartered "in the neighbouring villages, and at Dunfermline, Kelso, Dunbar, Dalkeith, and in other villages." Complaints were heard of the burden of maintaining the foreigners, as much harm being anticipated from their being allowed to remain, as the English could do in battle. "If," argued the complainers, "the English do burn our houses, what consequence is it to us? We can rebuild them cheap enough, for we only require three days to do so, provided we have five or six poles and boughs to cover them" (Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 8-11).

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.* i. Nos. 740, 770-1.

acknowledging Clement VII., seated at Avignon, as Pope, while England was among the number of those who acknowledged Urban VI. as Pope, seated at Rome. By Clement VII. (anti-pope, as in after times he was called) Wardlaw was made a cardinal priest, on 23rd December, 1383. At that date it was the rule that bishops on being made cardinals should vacate their bishoprics, and Cardinal Wardlaw therefore ceased to be bishop of Glasgow; but, on 24th November, 1384, the Pope granted to him exemption from the application of the rule. In a letter addressed to the dean and chapter of Glasgow the Pope asked them to give help and obedience to the cardinal whom he, "desiring to honour the church of Glasgow and the realm of Scotland, raised to that dignity, empowering him, for the support of his rank and expenses, and for a certain fixed time, to retain the said church, with the administration of its spiritualities and temporalities, even as before his promotion." ³

Wardlaw, "lord bishop of Glasgow," who was paid his expenses for going to London on the king's affairs in 1368 and 1369,⁴ has the designation "lord cardinal of Glasgow" in 1384, on being paid expenses incurred to him when sent, along with the Bishop of Dunkeld, on a mission to the king and council of France, relating to the affairs of the Scottish king and kingdom.⁵

There seems to have been an early rule against a cleric holding more than one benefice at the same time, but the dispensations from the operation of the restriction, recorded in the papal registers, are so numerous as to leave the impression that it was not much honoured in the observance. Luckily, applications for the granting of such dispensations have been the means of preserving information regarding a number of benefices which might not otherwise have been procurable,

³ *Papal Reg.* iv. p. 250.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. pp. 305, 344.

⁵ *Ib.* iii. p. 676.

and in this way the name of an early holder of the chapel of St. Mary is divulged. In 1384 "Walter Wan, of the diocese of Glasgow," was authorised to hold a benefice in the gift of the abbot and convent of Kilwinning, "notwithstanding that he has the chapel of St. Mary in Glasgow." Three years later the same chaplain made a similar application with reference to a benefice in the gift of the abbots and convents of Paisley and Kilwinning; but likely enough these entries in the register refer to the one benefice, possession of which, if got at all, may not have been secured till 1387.

In 1395 "Walter Wan, priest," presumably of St. Mary's chapel, applied to the Pope to sanction his acquiring "the canonry and second prebend of Glasgow," value 14 marks, void by the resignation of Gilbert de Carrick, notwithstanding that John de Tonerayth has unlawfully held the said canonry and prebend for sixteen years and that Walter has a perpetual vicarage in the city of Glasgow.⁶ Here we have the earliest extant reference to the prebend of Glasgow *Secundo*, the chief endowment of which was the vicarage of the parish. Tonerayth, as a place, is heard of in 1327 when Eva, widow of Robert Avenel, gave to the bishop and church of Glasgow, for the weal of her soul and the souls of her predecessors and successors, and for the increase of divine worship in the church, the sum of forty shillings, yearly, payable furth of her fee of "Thunregeyth,"⁷ lands which seem to be identified with those now called Tundergarth, part of the parish of that name in Annandale. One "John de Tunnyrgayth" was clerk of the king's wardrobe between 1360 and 1362,⁸ but whether he or another of the same name was the interloping prebendary has not been ascertained.

Owing to the old age and infirmity of the king, his second son, Robert, Earl of Fife, was chosen governor of the kingdom,

⁶ *Papal Reg.* i. pp. 566-7, 584.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 278-9.

⁸ *Exchequer Rolls*, ii. pp. 19, 112.

and on his brother, Robert III., succeeding to the throne, on 19th April, 1390, he was continued in the same capacity. With slight intermission Earl Robert, on whom the title of duke, hitherto unknown in Scotland, was conferred in 1398, and who thenceforth was known as the Duke of Albany, was at the head of the government from this time till his death in 1420, four years before the return of James I. from captivity.

From an entry in the city's Inventory of Writs it appears that in the reign of Robert III. the burgesses and community of Glasgow were recognised by a direct grant from the crown, without the intervention of the bishop, this being, so far as is known, a departure from all previous usage. Notwithstanding the importance of such a document, if only from a constitutional point of view, the royal grant referred to has shared the fate of the two missing charters of the first King Robert's reign, and the only trace of its existence is the entry in the Inventory, where it is briefly described as "Precept under the privie seall be King Robert III, directed to the Bishop of St. Andrews,⁹ chancellor for the tyme, for granting a charter under the great seall to the burgesses and communitie of Glasgow to keep their mercat day on Munday instead of Sunday." The date is 13th October, 1397.¹⁰ Glasgow charters, so far as the terms of such are preserved, provide for the weekly market being held on Thursday, and therefore in the absence of information which the original precept probably contained the reason for issuing the new order must remain unknown. Duncan Petyt, Archdeacon of Glasgow, a former keeper of the privy seal, was chancellor of the kingdom in 1396,¹ and it may have been through his influence that the precept was issued.

Shortly after the death of Cardinal Wardlaw in 1387, the "anti-pope" consecrated Matthew de Glendonwyn Bishop

⁹ The bishop of Aberdeen was chancellor in 1397. "St. Andrews" is probably a misreading by the compiler of the Inventory.

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 24.

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iii. p. 378.

of Glasgow, and he retained the episcopate till his death in 1408. Perhaps unaware of or ignoring this appointment, Pope Boniface, on 1st March, 1390-1, named John Framisden, a Friar Minor, as bishop, but in consequence of this country having adhered to the Pope's rival at Avignon this interference from Rome was of no avail.² Bishop Matthew was often in attendance at court, as shown by the frequency of his name in the lists of witnesses to deeds under the great seal. He took a large share in the conduct of the country's affairs, and he was one of the select council, chosen by the parliament held at Perth in January 1398-9, to act with David, Duke of Rothesay, then appointed lieutenant for his father, King Robert.³

At the beginning of the new reign in 1390, an eight-years' truce had been concluded with England, but though comparative quietness was secured on the south border there was much disturbance in the Scottish Highlands, one singular incident connected with which being the fight between members of the clans Chattan and Kay on the North Inch of Perth, in 1396.⁴ The following passage quoted from the Register

² Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 316-8.

³ *A.P.S.* i. p. 572.

⁴ In the *Breve Chronicon* (*Reg. Episc.* No. 327) the fight has this notice: "Bellum de Perth, de 60 hominibus, A.D. 1397"; but 28th September, 1396, was the date (*Exchequer Rolls*, iii. pp. lxxix. 418; *Trial by Combat*, p. 253). The chronicle appears to have been originally written on a fly-leaf at the end of the ancient Register. The leaf is now missing and the entries have been printed from transcripts. The first item cites the year 1067 and the last 1413, so that the chronicler or chroniclers must have compiled or at least completed the list subsequent to the latter date. The incorrectness, noticeable in some of the dates in the chronicle, Professor Cosmo Innes thought might arise from the transcribers having changed the old way of dating for the Arabic numerals (*Reg. Episc.* p. xli). Most of the information, sometimes under slightly varying dates, is contained in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, as supplemented and continued by Walter Bower. The following is a translation of the items in the chronicle, some notes being added within square brackets:

1067. Marriage of King Malcolm and St. Margaret.

1170. Martyrdom of St. Thomas, bishop of Canterbury.

1296. 15 March, Capture of Berwick by Edward Langschankss.

1297. Battle of Faukyrk; at Feast of St. Mary Magdalene.

1208. (1312) Deposition of the Templars. [1208 misprint or misreading for

1308. See *Scotichronicon* (1759) ii. p. 242.]

of the Bishopric of Moray and referring to the state of "Scotland" in the year 1398, can scarcely be accepted as literally

- 1314. Battle of Banokburne.
- 1318. Capture of Berwick by the Scots, middle of Lent.
- 1320. "Blac parlment."
- 1329. Obit of King Robert.
- 1332. Coming of Edward de Balzol.
- 1332. Battle of Duplyn.
- 1333. 18 July, Battle of Halydonhill.
- 1346. Battle of Dorame; at Feast of St. Luke.
- 1355. "Brynt Candylmess."
- 1350. First Mortality. [1362 Second Mortality. *Scotichronicon* (1759) ii. p. 364; Fordun's *Chronicle* (1872) ii. p. 369.]
- 1370. Death of King David; at Feast of St. Peter's Chair.
- 1372. Coming of St. Nicholas.
- 1378. 23 Sept., Burning of Church of St. Andrews.
- 1385. The Schism began in that year.
- 1379. 12 Nov., Capture of the Castle of Berwick by Hog of Lydzertwod and his company.
- 1381. "Penultima" and Third Mortality. ["1380 Secunda et tertia mortalitas." Quoted, apparently from a different transcript, in Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, p. 73.]
- 1384. Coming of the duke of Lancaster.
- 1384. Capture of the Castle of Berwick by the men of the Earl of Douglas.
- 1385. Coming of the French and King Richard and the burning of the town of Edinburgh.
- 1388. 5 Aug., Battle of Oterburne.
- 1390. Death of King Robert Stewart.
Tournament between the two [nations], about the feast of Michaelmas.
Coming of Sir John Morlay for the King's cup (*pro cipro Regio*).
- 1397. Battle of Perth of sixty men.
- 1400. Coming of King Henry and capture of the Castle of Dunbar from the earl.
- 1401. 1 March, Death of the Duke of Rothesay.
- 1402. Battle of Homylton; at Feast of Holy Cross.
- 1403. Capture of Castle of Enerwyk, Schreuisbery and Coklau.
- 1405. Burning of the town of Berwyc by the Scots.
- 1405. Battle of Langhirdmanston, and death of Sir David Flemyng.
- 1406. 30 March, Capture of King James in England.
- 1406. 4 April, Death of King Robert.
- 1407. Burning of James Henry at Perth.
- 1407. 4 March, Burning of the church of Strevilling.
- 1409. 7 May, Capture of the castle of Jedword.
Tempest [on the day of] St. Kentigern.
- 1411. Burning of Linlithgow.
- 1411. Battle of Harlaw.
- 1412. Fight between John Hardy and Thomas Smyth.
- 1413. Slaying of the Earl of Stratherne.

accurate, and in any case it seems more applicable to districts north than to those south of the Forth: "In these days there was no law in Scotland, but the strong oppressed the weak, and the whole kingdom was one den of thieves. Homicides, robberies, fire-raising, and other misdeeds remained unpunished and justice seemed banished beyond the kingdom's bounds."⁵ Whatever measure of exaggeration there may be in this indictment the need was evidently felt for a stricter rule, and as already mentioned, the Duke of Rothesay was appointed the king's lieutenant through all the kingdom. Shortly afterwards the duke, the Bishop of Glasgow and others were sent to England as commissioners to treat for a renewal of the existing truce, and this they succeeded in negotiating for another year, the indenture stating the arranged terms being dated 14th May, 1399.⁶

By a statute dated 21st May, 1401, in which reference is made to the great deficiency of ornaments for divine service in the church, Bishop Matthew, with consent of the dean and chapter, ordained that in future when any one obtained a prebend he should assign to the dean and chapter a stated portion for the purchase of robes and ornaments for the church and required for divine service. From the enumeration of the prebends contained in this statute it is learned that the chapter, which latterly was composed of thirty-two members, had only reached the number of twenty-three in 1401.⁷

Archibald, the third Earl of Douglas, died on 3rd February, 1400-1, and on 8th July following, his widow, Joanna, Countess

⁵ Dunbar's *Scottish Kings* (1899), p. 174.

⁶ Bain's *Calendar*, iv. Nos. 519-20.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 320. The twenty-three prebends were taxed as follows: Cadihou, Kilbryde, Campsi, Carnwythe, Menar (connected with Peblis), Merbotil, Cadar and Glasgu *primo*, £5 each; Glasgu *secundo*, 2 merks; Barlanark, £5; Renfrew, £3; Goven, 40s.; Casteltarris, 2 merks; Moffet, £5; Erskyn, 40s.; Dorysder, £3; Edalston, £3; Stobhou, £5; Are, £5; Auld Roxburgh, £3; Cardrose, 40s.; Alynecrumbe, 40s.; Askyrke, 40s.

of Douglas and Lady of Bothwell, for the weal of her soul and of the soul of Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Lord of Galloway and Bothwell, and of all their ancestors and successors, granted to the church of Glasgow, for increase of divine worship and in aid of the lights of the church, three stones of wax, yearly payable furth of the rents of the barony of Bothwell.⁸ This barony had belonged to Lady Bothwell, and by her marriage with the Lord of Galloway, about 1362, it was carried to the Douglas family, with whom it continued till the forfeiture of James, Earl of Douglas, in 1455, when it fell to the crown. Through some default the annual contribution to the church of Glasgow had been neglected, and on this omission being brought to the knowledge of King James III. he, by a charter dated 14th October, 1475, ordered that in future the three stones of wax should be regularly levied from the lands of Odington (Uddingston) in the lordship of Bothwell, 2½ stones of which were to be used at the tomb of St. Kentigern at the cathedral and the remaining half stone at the tomb of St. Tenu, "in the chapel where her bones lay." In 1498 it was found that the contribution was seven years in arrear, and Archbishop Blacader thereupon instituted proceedings in the court of the Official of Glasgow against fifteen possessors of portions of the lands of Uddingston who were forthwith ordained to deliver eighteen stones of wax to the church and three stones to the chapel, under penalty of excommunication.⁹

Though there is no definite information on the subject, there are indications leading to the belief that the timber

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 321. On 10th October, 1398, the earl and countess had converted the church of Bothwell into a collegiate church for the service of a provost and eight prebendaries (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. p. 648). The first provost of the collegiate church was Thomas Barry, a canon of Glasgow cathedral, who celebrated in a lengthy Latin poem the battle of Otterburn, where James, Earl of Douglas fell, 6th August, 1388 (*Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 54). As to succession to the Bothwell estate, see *The Scots Peerage*, iii. pp. 161-2.

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 407, 478-9.

steeple erected by Bishop Wischart was burned down in the time of Bishop Glendonwyn. That prelate made preparation for its restoration in stone-work, but died before its erection was commenced, and it is not precisely known what progress was made towards the completion of the cathedral in his time.

From a charter granted by Bishop Glendonwyn in 1408 it is gathered that either he or one of his predecessors had made a substantial alienation of baronial territory. By this writ the bishop, with consent of the cathedral chapter, gave to "his beloved vassal," William of Strivelyne, son and heir of the late Sir John of Strivelyné, knight, the lands of "Cadare," in the barony of Glasgow and shire of Lanark, to be held of the bishop and church of Glasgow, for payment of a feuduty of £4 yearly, and making suits at three head courts of the barony, with ward, relief and feudal services.¹⁰ The lands of Cadder were thus detached in classification from those which remained in the possession of the bishop's rentallers, but in relation to the severed territory the bishops were put in the position of feudal superiors.¹ Parts of the Antonine wall stood on the feued lands.

¹⁰ *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, x. Appx. i. p. 62. From the expressions "vassals" and "heir" it may be inferred that the charter was the renewal of a previous grant to one of William's ancestors. The witnesses are Symon of Mundavill, M.A., archdeacon; John of Hawik, M.A., precentor of the church of Glasgow; Sir Symon of Glendonwyne, knight; and Sir John of Hawik, priest and notary public.

¹ *Diocesan Registers*, i. p. 38. The editors, without citing their authority, speak of Cadder as a barony and, alluding to its being held of the bishop by ward service, comment on such a tenure being very rare in Scotland.

CHAPTER XXIX

FOREIGN TRADE—CUSTOMS ON EXPORTS—GLASGOW'S EARLIEST TRADING, MANUFACTURES AND INDUSTRIES

PREVIOUS to the fifteenth century, the Scottish towns receiving any substantial benefit from foreign trade were those situated on the east coast, and at that early period three of the four burghs constituting the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum*¹ each possessed a flourishing sea-port. To that confederation some of the negotiations with foreign merchants, relating to commercial transactions, were probably entrusted; but owing to the absence of any record of its proceedings, apart from the legislation attributed to the court and a few fragmentary references, very little information on such subjects has been preserved. It is, however, probable that it was the members of this court who, on behalf of the community of this country, joined with Andrew of Moray and William Wallace, "leaders of the army of Scotland," in sending a letter to the mayors and communities of Lubeck and Hamburg representing that their merchants might have safe access with their merchandise into all the ports of Scotland, seeing that the kingdom had by war been redeemed from the power of the English. The letter, in a postscript to which the interests of two Scottish merchants, John Burnet and John Frere, were commended to the care of the authorities in Lubeck and Hamburg, was sent from Haddington on 11th October, 1297.

¹ *Antea*, p. 61.

where and when the representatives of the Four Burghs are likely to have been in attendance holding their annual court.²

At subsequent periods formal contracts were entered into between the merchants of this country and the representatives of different towns in the Netherlands for the regulation of international commerce. The earliest of these of which there is any trace consists of an agreement between the burgesses and merchants of Scotland and the burgesses and merchants of Middleburgh, in Zealand, whereby that town was constituted the staple port for the transit of merchandise from this country. The date of that document is not given, but it was ratified by King David's charter dated at Dundee, 12th November, 1347.³

In each burgh possessing facilities of export the crown was in the habit of appointing a "custumar" or customars, generally one or two of the leading burgesses, to collect the king's great customs. Till the end of the sixteenth century free trade in imports may be said to have prevailed in Scotland, but from the earliest times the records of which have been preserved, a duty was exacted from exports. In the fourteenth century four burghs of export are noticed on the west coast, Dumbarton, Ayr, Wigtown and Kirkcudbright, and there the revenue was usually small in amount. For example,

² *Ancient Laws and Customs*, vol. ii. p. ix. The letter was shown in the Scottish Exhibition, at Glasgow, in 1911, and a facsimile is given in the *Palace of History Catalogue*, i. p. 479.

³ *Convention Records*, i. p. 537. Particulars regarding the subsequent staple contracts will be found in the printed *Convention Records*. In 1364 King David, with consent of his council, granted to all his burgesses throughout the country free liberty to buy and sell within the liberties of their own burghs, but prohibited them from buying or selling within the liberties of other burghs. In its application to Glasgow this provision secured to the burgh the exclusive liberty of trading throughout the barony. The charter also prohibited foreign merchants coming with their ships or merchandise to trade with any persons except merchants of the king's burghs, either in buying or selling (*Ib.* pp. 538-41); and to the privileges thus secured to royal burghs Glasgow was also entitled by the terms of its original charters.

in the year 1327, when the gross amount of custom, derived chiefly from exported wool and skins, was £1,851, Berwick contributed £673; Edinburgh, £439; Aberdeen, £349; Dundee, £240; Perth, £108; Linlithgow, £14; Cupar-Fife, £13; Inverkeithing, £8; Ayr, £3; Stirling, £2;⁴ and from the remaining three western burghs nothing was obtained. Rates of duty on wool and hides were much increased when funds were being raised to meet the instalments for King David's ransom, and were long retained at the same figure, but the average yearly yield, even during the reign of King James, did not much exceed £5,000. Various other customs were from time to time imposed, including duties on salmon, grilse and herring. The ports from which salmon were exported were principally Aberdeen, Banff and Montrose, and the average yearly custom from that source during the reign of King James was £115, representing £920 worth of fish. The cumulo customs obtained from the western burghs continued small in amount. In 1408 Ayr paid £2 on eleven last of hides; Dumbarton, in 1426, paid 28s. custom on wool; and it was only at wide intervals that export duties of any amount were accounted for by burghs in this district.

While Berwick remained a Scottish town its position as a commercial port was fully maintained, and the amount of customs collected there formed a substantial part of the national revenue. For the period from 29th November, 1331, to 3rd November, 1332, its collectors accounted for £570, as the custom received on the export of wool and hides; and a supplementary account brought down to 22nd February of the following year added £86 to that amount.⁵ From 2nd March, 1330-1, to 3rd March, 1332-3, the customs collected at Edinburgh amounted to £812. As the result of the Scottish defeat at the battle of Halidon Hill, Berwick came into the hands of

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. c. In the above list shillings and pence are omitted.

⁵ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. pp. 419, 428.

the English in July, 1333, and the town, as the price of English support, was formally surrendered by Balliol in February of the following year. Berwick being thus deprived of the privileges it enjoyed as a member of the Court of Four Burghs, the English king, on the application of the community, authorised the governor and mayor of the town, with twelve of the most discreet and law-worthy burgesses, to assemble within the town, yearly, on the fifteenth day after Michaelmas, and there to exercise the functions of the court; and this was to continue "until the men of the said Four Burghs can assemble peacefully" to issue their judgments as formerly.⁶

Shortly after the Berwick severance Roxburgh also fell under English control, and in the altered circumstances parliament, on 6th March, 1368, ordained that so long as these border towns should be held by "our enemies of England" the burghs of Lanark and Linlithgow should take their place as "twa of the Four Burghis whilk have of auld to mak the court of the chalmerlan ance a year at Hadyngton."⁷ By this time Linlithgow,⁸ as a burgh of export, was of considerable consequence, the customs collected there, in 1367, amounting to £597, as against £2,459 collected in Edinburgh, £88 in Stirling and £5 11s. 11½d. in Ayr. Like Roxburgh, Lanark was not a burgh of export, but its liberties extended over a wide area, embracing the whole of Lanarkshire, excepting the barony of Glasgow and the district assigned to the burgh of Rutherglen.

For any transactions connected either with imports or exports by the east coast there need be little doubt that the inhabitants of Lanarkshire, including those of the burgh and

⁶ *Convention Records*, ii. p. 482. The ordinance is dated at Guildford, 30th March, 1345.

⁷ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. p. 191.

⁸ Linlithgow had its port at Blackness, about the same distance from the burgh as Edinburgh was from its port at Leith.

barony of Glasgow, resorted mainly to Linlithgow as being the most convenient port. In confirmation of this view reference may be made to the account of the custumars of Linlithgow for the year 1384, in which allowance is made for 18s. paid for the hire of a waggon to carry wine to Glasgow for the use of the king, and in the corresponding account for 1387-8 the sum of 20s. is allowed for a similar service.⁹ Another supply, consisting of eighteen pipes of wine, probably imported to Linlithgow in the usual way, though its carriage to Glasgow has not been traced, was carried by water from Glasgow bridge to Renfrew, where it was stored.¹⁰ Remissions of export duty were granted to a Glasgow physician on two occasions between 1393 and 1396. As is gathered from the accounts of the custumar of Linlithgow for 1393-5 William, "medicus" of Glasgow, sent to Linlithgow two sacks of wool for export, the duty on which would have been four merks or £2 13s. 4d., but the king, by letters under his privy seal, relieved him of payment.¹ A similar concession was granted to the Glasgow physician in the following year, as is noted in the account of the deputy chamberlain for 1396-7, but here the burgh of export is not named.² These two remissions were probably granted in return for services rendered, but frequent remissions on a larger scale and often for inadequate consideration made serious encroachments on the crown revenues.³

On payment of export duty the sender of the goods obtained a certificate under the seal of the proper officer authorising the export of the articles in respect of which custom had been paid. This document was called a cocket, and lords of regality, lay or spiritual, who owned burghs of export, had generally the grant of a cocket which entitled them to export merchandise duty free.⁴

⁹ *Exchequer Rolls*, iii. pp. 122, 173.

¹ *Ib.* iii. p. 356.

³ *Ib.* p. lxxxv.

¹⁰ *Ib.* vol. iv. p. 631 (year 1434-5).

² *Ib.* p. 427.

⁴ *Ib.* vol. i. pp. c, ci.

So far as can be ascertained it was not till a comparatively late period that the Bishops of Glasgow were accorded this privilege. In the second year of his reign King James IV., while confirming to the bishops all their existing possessions and privileges, and apparently doubtful if there had hitherto been a free tron in the city, authorised the bishops to have one in future, to appoint a troner of the customs and clerk of the cocket, and to uplift and apply to their own uses the customs of all goods and merchandise of the citizens and tenants of the barony. Cockets were to be issued certifying payment of duty, and on production of these the owner of the goods was to be free of customs in all other towns, ports and places within the kingdom. By another provision of the charter the bishops were enabled to export wool, hides, fish, and all other goods and merchandise, so far as for their own purposes, without payment of custom thereon.⁵

Such small craft as frequented the Clyde estuary in the fourteenth century would be more adapted for fishing purposes and for cruising about the Western Isles than for making long voyages ; but it is known that in the course of the next hundred years regular trading communication with France, in which Glasgow merchants took a share, had been fully established. According to popular belief, formed perhaps less on actual knowledge than on consideration of the natural order of things, the earliest trading ventures of the citizens, connected with the river, consisted of the capture of salmon and herring and their cure and transit to foreign markets. Fishergait, traversed by the fishermen after mooring their boats on the margin of the Old Green at the bridge, is one of the earliest street names on record.⁶ At first the river afforded no advantage for general trading purposes, and when the merchants required port facilities they made their way by the nearest neck of land for the most convenient shore. In this way Irvine port, for the

⁵ *Glasg. Charters*, i. pt. ii. pp. 83 85.

⁶ *Antea*, p. 72.

Clyde, was long frequented by Glasgow merchants, in the same way as Linlithgow port had been resorted to for the Forth traffic. According to Tucker's *Report*,⁷ Irvine, even so late as 1656, was maintaining "a small trade to France, Norway and Ireland, with herring and other goods, brought on horseback from Glasgow, for the purchasing timber, wine and other comodities, to supply theyr occasions with." Glasgow itself at that time was trading with France, taking plaiding, coals and herring, and returning with salt, paper, rosin and prunes; getting timber from Norway, carrying coals in open boats to Ireland and bringing back hoops, barrel staves, meal, oats and butter; and obtaining from Argyllshire and the Western Isles plaiding, dry hides, goat, kid and deer skins, in return for which the inhabitants of these districts purchased from Glasgow traders such commodities and provisions as they required. But no vessels of more than six tons could then come nearer to Glasgow than the vicinity of Dumbarton, about fourteen miles below Glasgow bridge, at which distance they had to unload and transfer their cargoes to small boats, cobs or rafts, which thence made their way to Glasgow bridge or other destination.

Glasgow's earliest waulk or fulling mill was situated either on the Molendinar or Camlachie Burn, or perhaps below the confluence of these two streams, at the foot of the Walkergait, and it may be supposed that in this vicinity hand-loom weavers, linen manufacturers, tailors and other workers in cloth, would be chiefly accommodated. The obtaining of raw material, including wool for weavers and skins for the manufacture of leather, would give employment to a body of itinerant merchants who, in the earlier stages at least,⁸ made their journeys more by land than by water. Within the bounds

⁷ Tucker's *Report* of 1656, reprinted in *Miscellany of Scottish Burgh Records Society*, pp. 1-48.

⁸ *Antea*, p. 71.

of the barony itself, where there were upwards of three hundred rentallers, and also the outlying commons belonging to the burgesses, considerable supplies of wool and skins must have been obtainable, for besides the cultivated fields there existed large areas of pasture land suitable for the rearing of flocks and herds. Among the artisans obtaining employment by the manipulation of the raw material, thus procured far and near, were the skinners and furriers, who supplied such wearing apparel and useful articles as were appropriate to their special trade; and the "barkers,"⁹ who by tanning and other processes converted the skins into durable leather, suitable for the purposes of those who plied the cordiner or shoemaker craft. The remaining craftsmen, latterly composing the fourteen incorporated trades, were the hammermen, maltmen, bakers, wrights, coopers, fleshers, masons, gardeners, barbers and dyers; and though we have no definite information on the subject it may be assumed that shortly after the establishment of the burgh each of these classes would be represented within its bounds. Taking into account all the known circumstances connected with the burgh and barony in combination, and keeping in view the opportunities within the reach of the inhabitants for extending, to mutual advantage, their commercial and industrial pursuits, it may be assumed that no inconsiderable population was gathered within this district before the end of the fourteenth century. The estimate of the number of the burgh inhabitants at about 1,500 or 2,000 seems a not unreasonable calculation.

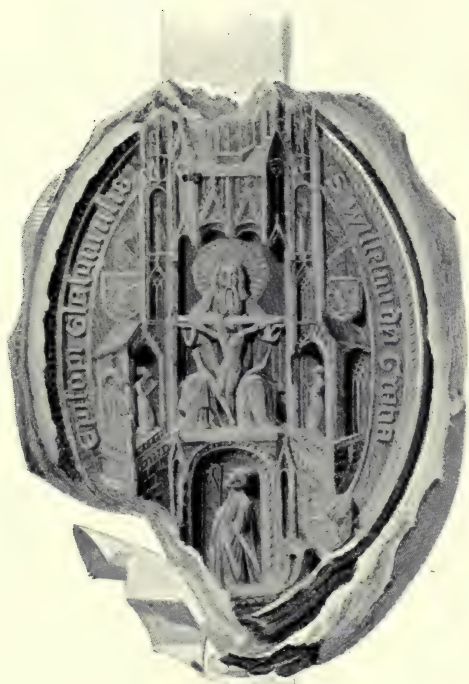
⁹ So called from their using the bark of trees in the tanning process. Tanning was usually practised at the side of a burn, and rules to obviate complaints of neighbours were common. In old titles of properties, such as those on the south side of Bridgegait, near the Molendinar Burn, references to tan holes, bark holes and lime holes often occur.

CHAPTER XXX

GLASGOW'S CONNECTION WITH CONVENTION OF BURGHS— DUKES OF ALBANY AND KING JAMES I.—BISHOP LAUDER —CATHEDRAL

By a decree of the Court of Four Burghs, which, according to the date given by Sir John Skene, was held at Stirling on 12th October, 1405, it was ordained that two or three sufficient burgesses of each of the "King's burghs" upon the south side of the Water of Spey should appear yearly at the burghal parliament to treat upon all things concerning the commonweal of all the burghs and their liberties.¹ If the date is correct, and if the ordinance took effect, this may be regarded as the first step in the process whereby the *Curia Quatuor Burgorum* was merged in the Convention of Burghs; but the time for clearing off the obscurity with which the early history of the court is enveloped has not yet been reached, and no record showing that the decree was put into operation has been discovered. Whether in obedience to the decree, burghs outside of the chosen four really sent commissioners or not, it is curious to observe that the privilege of doing so was not extended to burghs beyond the Spey, such as Inverness, Elgin and the other towns situated in the province of Moray. At that time, six years before the battle of Harlaw, a distinction still existed between the districts within and those without the bounds of ancient Scotia. No similar exclusion is noticed elsewhere,

¹ *Convention Records*, i. p. 502.



SEAL OF WILLIAM LAUDER, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1408-25.

and in an act of parliament passed in 1487 commissioners of "all the burrowis, baith south and north," were appointed to convene, yearly, to commune and treat upon the welfare of merchants and common profit of the burghs.² But even before this date representatives of the burghs in general seem to have been in the habit of meeting and adjusting their common affairs. Thus, on 21st March, 1483-4, "the commissaris of burghis" allocated upon the individual towns their shares of a national tax. The names of the burghs subjected to this impost, situated "beyond Forth," have been preserved, and these include Elgin, Forres, Inverness and Nairn, all on the Moray side of the Spey.³ Unfortunately there is no corresponding list of the taxed burghs on the south side of the Forth, nor is there a list of such earlier than 1535. In the Roll of that year Glasgow duly appears, showing that at that time it bore its share of national taxation as a constituent member of the Convention of Burghs. The minutes of the Convention are not preserved previous to 1552, and at the meeting held in that year Glasgow was represented by its provost and another commissioner.⁴

Opinions as to the true dates of the capture at sea of Prince James and the death of his father, King Robert III., have been somewhat conflicting in the past, but it is now generally agreed that the former event took place in February or March, 1405-6, and the latter on 4th April, 1406. In this connection it is satisfactory to note that in the "Short Chronicle" inserted in the Register of the Bishopric, the capture is stated to be 30th March and the "obit" 4th April, 1406.⁵ King James was in the twelfth year of his age when he succeeded to the throne, but from that time he was detained in England eighteen years, and did not enter upon the personal rule of his kingdom

² *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. p. 44.

³ *Convention Records*, i. p. 543.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 2, 514.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 327; *antea*, p. 170.

till 1424. Meanwhile the government of the country remained in the hands of the Duke of Albany till, on his death in 1420, it passed to his son, Duke Murdoch, and national affairs were thus conducted much on the same lines as they had been since the beginning of the second Robert's reign. The first duke was virtual ruler of the kingdom for nearly half a century. It was a period during which some of the nobles embraced the opportunity of augmenting their estates at the expense of the crown, a mode of aggrandizement which brought about fearful reprisals when the day of reckoning arrived.

On the death of Bishop Matthew, in 1408, the anti-pope, Benedict XIII., gave the bishopric to William Lauder, Arch-deacon of Lothian. The new bishop's appointment was dated 9th July, 1408, and it is supposed that he obtained consecration shortly afterwards, as, on 24th October following, the English king gave a safe conduct to "William Laweder, bishop of Glasco, with 24 horsemen in company, to cross from France and pass through England to Scotland."⁶ He seems not to have returned in time to enter into possession of the temporalities till after Martinmas, as in the account of the chamberlain of Scotland for 1408-9 credit is given for the rents of the bishopric for the term of Whitsunday and for the half of those falling due at Martinmas, 1408. The other half of the Martinmas rents the chamberlain, by favour of the bishop, expended in paying the fees of the bailies and sergeants, and allowances were also given to certain kinsmen of the late bishop.⁷

Bishop Lauder's progenitors belonged to an ancient family in the Merse. In a charter granted at Lauder on 1st August,

⁶ Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 318; Bain's *Calendar*, iv. No. 773.

⁷ *Exchequer Rolls*, iv. p. 99. The sheriff of Peebles had collected £44, presumably at Stobo and Whitebarony, and the rents collected in the shire of Lanark, within which were the two baronies of Glasgow and Carstairs, amounted to £188 11s. 8d.

1414, his father, there designated "Robert de Lawedre," with consent of the bishop as his son and heir, gave to the church of Glasgow two annualrents of twenty shillings each, payable furth of tenements situated in Edinburgh, as an endowment for anniversary services to be celebrated by the canons and vicars of the cathedral. The charter was confirmed by the Duke of Albany on 28th September; and on 19th May of the following year Bishop Lauder gave specific directions for celebration of the obits or anniversaries and for the tolling of the church bells and the bell of St. Kentigern on the vigils of the services.⁸

The upper part of the north-west tower of the cathedral, said to have been struck by lightning and burned down in the time of Bishop Glendoning, was restored by Bishop Lauder. The tower is known to have been vaulted in stone, in the interior, at the junction of the new with the old work. The vault rested on four corbels in the angles, curiously carved with figures. Three of these corbels are now preserved in the chapter-house and have been identified as part of the work of restoration executed by Bishop Lauder. The bishop likewise placed the traceried parapet upon the central tower. His coat of arms, carved on the western side, is the earliest heraldic device in the cathedral. The belfry stage of the tower is supposed to have been erected by Cardinal Walter or by Bishop Glendoning, and the stone spire, rising from Lauder's parapet, was constructed by Bishop Cameron. The lower courses of this tower were obviously intended to carry a stone structure to the top, and if timber was at any time used here in constructing a spire that must have been regarded as a temporary expedient.⁹

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 324, 326.

⁹ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), p. 19; (1914), pp. 39, 40. Mr. Chalmers states that Lauder's parapet was reconstructed in 1756, in consequence of having been injured by lightning (*Ib.*).

The masonry of the chapter-house, begun in the thirteenth century, had remained very much in its original condition for nearly 200 years, the foundation walls showing little more than a mere outline of the building plan. The erection of this building was also resumed by Bishop Lauder, who made considerable progress with the work. His arms are carved on the exterior of the west wall and also upon the cornice of the dean's seat in the east wall, the latter accompanied with an inscription¹⁰ bearing that he had built the chapter-house, but the completion of this work also he had to leave to his successor.¹

Bishop Lauder took an active share in the administration of national affairs. He was one of the commissioners appointed to treat with English representatives for peace in 1411 and was one of the ambassadors who negotiated for the return of the king in 1423.² He was chancellor of the kingdom from 1421 till his death in 1425.³

The foundation of the university of St. Andrews, in 1410,⁴ was an event of national importance and must have attracted attention in all scholastic circles throughout the country. In cathedrals at that time the chancellors presided over those in their respective localities who taught in letters, and the precentors or chantors looked after the training of the young musicians. By the rule of Sarum, adopted in Glasgow cathedral, it was directed that the chancellor should bestow care in regulating the schools and repairing and correcting the

¹⁰ "WILMS : FUDAT : ISTUT : CAPILM : DEI"—Willelmus fundavit istut capitulum Dei. Doubts have been entertained whether this inscription applies to William de Bondington who began the building or to William Lauder, who carried it on, but the preponderance of opinion favours the latter prelate.

¹ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), p. 19; (1914), pp. 34, 35.

² *Bain's Calendar*, iv. Nos. 804-5, 932-3.

³ *Dowden's Bishops*, p. 318; *Exchequer Rolls*, iv. pp. 358, 373, 379.

⁴ Formal papal sanction was not obtained till February, 1413-4, though lectures similar to a university course had been read at St. Andrews from 1410.

1597

BLISSIT·BE·YE·LORD·OVR·
GOD·FOR·AL·HIS·GIFTS·

INSCRIPTION ON EAST WALL OF CHAPTER HOUSE, GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

books, and that the precentor should provide for the instruction and discipline of the boys destined for service in the choir. Taking advantage of the guidance thus provided, municipal authorities freely co-operated with the cathedral dignitaries in the promotion of education within their bounds, as in 1418, when the alderman and community of Aberdeen nominated a master of the burgh schools and presented him to the chancellor of the diocese for approval.⁵ Though it is not till forty years later that we have documentary evidence of the magistrates of Glasgow being associated with the Grammar School of that city, it is known that such a school was in existence in 1460,⁶ but as to its previous history no information is vouchsafed. Such elementary education as could be gained at these schools would afford the preparation necessary for the student entering a university; but when this stage was reached he had no choice but to leave the country and betake himself to other parts, perhaps to Oxford or Cambridge, if peace existed between England and Scotland at the time; if not, the continent was the only resort. Latterly it was Paris, where the Scots College had been founded by the Bishop of Moray in 1326, that the Scottish students mainly frequented and there at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century large numbers of them were yearly assembled. No doubt many Scottish students embraced the opportunity of completing their education at St. Andrews, though the older universities abroad still continued to be frequented by those who could afford and preferred that course; but that the educational facilities obtainable at St. Andrews were largely appreciated, and that there was a call for extension of such accommodation in Scotland, is shown by the fact that Glasgow, only forty years later, followed the example set by St. Andrews and secured the establishment of a university of its own.

⁵ *Early Scottish History* (Cosmo Innes), p. 256.

⁶ *Early Glasgow*, p. 44; *Glasg. Chart.*, i. pt. ii. p. 436, No. 28.

One of the transcripts supplied by Father Innes to Glasgow College was that of a notarial instrument of some interest as showing the procedure in the borrowing of money on heritable security in the beginning of the fifteenth century. In presence of a notary public and witnesses, Andrew of Kinglas, burgess of Glasgow, in consideration of the loan of ten merks Scots, conveyed to William Johnson, another burgess, a rood of waste land in the front, with a yard at the back, lying on the east side of the street leading from the cathedral church to the market cross, between the land of the heirs of John Bridin on the south and the land of John Smith on the north. The property was to be redeemable by the borrower on his repaying to the lender the ten merks, with any sums profitably expended by him on the property, and that at any Whitsunday, between the rising and the setting of the sun, on the altar of the Virgin Mary in the cathedral church.⁷ In such cases an altar became so well established as the place of redemption that for some time after the Reformation, when altars had been removed, it was customary to specify as a substitute the place in the church where the altar had stood.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 323 (7th November, 1413). The witnesses were Mr. John of Mortoun, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell; Sir Thomas Merschel, perpetual vicar of the church of Kilbirny, in the diocese of Glasgow; Adam Massoun, Nicholas of Prendergast and Andrew Smyth, burgesses of the burgh of "Glasgu."

CHAPTER XXXI

RETURN OF KING JAMES I.—HIS LEGISLATION—BISHOP
CAMERON—CATHEDRAL AND CASTLE—ARCHDEANERIES
AND PREBENDS—TOWN MILL—RENTALLERS

THE period of King James's reign which followed his return from England is marked by much legislative activity and in this connection the burghs were not overlooked. Under statutes then passed regulations came into operation for the more effective supervision of craftsmen and their work ; hostels or public inns were to be provided for the accommodation of travellers ; burgesses and indwellers, sufficiently equipped, had to appear for inspection of their armour, at the periodical wapinshawings ; measures were to be adopted for security against fire ; the " array of burgesses and thair wyffis " was regulated by the sumptuary laws ; rules were laid down " anent lipper folk " ; beggars were subjected to licensed conditions ; playing at football was discouraged as interfering with the practice of archery, and instructions were given to the king's officers and burgh sergeants for the maintenance of order.¹

By a parliament held on 26th May, 1424, a subsidy was imposed to meet the contribution to England stipulated for on the return of the king from captivity. As Glasgow bore its share of the taxation for King David's ransom it might have been expected that the burgh would also be a contributor to

¹ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. pp. 1-20.

the levy of 1424, but in the *Exchequer Rolls*, where the contributions of twenty-three burghs are recorded, Glasgow is not included in the list.

Acts of parliament were passed for securing the "fredome of halikirk"; traffic in pensions payable out of church benefices was prohibited; church lands unjustly alienated were to be restored; and churchmen were forbidden, by themselves or their procurators, to take their law pleas to foreign ecclesiastical courts without the king's consent. These and other regulations, however needful and salutary, did not meet with approval in all quarters, and the responsibility for their introduction having to some extent been ascribed to John Cameron, who was Bishop of Glasgow from 1426 to 1446, he was subjected to not a little opposition and trouble on that account.

It is not known if King James ever held court in, or even passed through Glasgow, though, keeping in view the long official, as well as personal, intimacy which subsisted between him and Bishop Cameron, it is likely enough that he was an occasional visitor. The bulk of the king's charters, so far as recorded in the *Great Seal Register*, were granted at Edinburgh, and a large number are dated from Perth, but Glasgow is not one of the eight towns from which the remainder emanated. So far as has been noticed, the only charter of James, connected with Glasgow, is one granted under his privy seal, at Edinburgh, on 14th April, 1426, whereby, in consequence of the see being vacant at the time, he presented Thomas Pacock, priest, to a chaplainry in the cathedral founded by Bishop Lauder.²

The appointment to the see, which fell vacant through the death of Bishop Lauder, on 14th June, 1425, had been specially reserved to the Pope, but, in ignorance of the reservation, the chapter elected John Cameron as bishop. On all the circumstances being represented to the Pope he, on 22nd April, 1426,

² *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 330-1.

assented to the choice made by the chapter and subsequently authorised the consecration of the new bishop. Still it appears that in these arrangements entire harmony did not prevail. In a papal bull, issued in May, 1430, it is stated that Cameron had, before his promotion, incurred disability more than once, and by subsequent action in parliament had been the author of statutes about collation to benefices which were against ecclesiastical liberty and the rights of the Roman Church, transgressions which had resulted in his excommunication. Through the intervention of the king on the bishop's behalf, and after an investigation, in the course of which the accuracy of many of the charges was disputed, while proper behaviour was promised in the future, the bishop was absolved from the sentences which had been pronounced against him.³

On this as well as on subsequent occasions when the bishop had to defend himself against accusations lodged at the papal court, one of his chief accusers seems to have been William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale. Between the bishop and the archdeacon there had been a controversy with regard to the jurisdiction exerciseable by the latter; and the dean and chapter, to whose arbitration the dispute had been referred, pronounced a decree on 14th January, 1427-8, whereby it was found that the bishop was entitled to have his commissaries throughout the whole diocese, qualified to decide all causes to the same extent as in the archdeanery of Glasgow. The commissaries appointed by the Archdeacon of Teviotdale were entitled to hear and decide all minor causes within their jurisdiction, but the archdeacon had no power to dismiss or incarcerate the clerks in his archdeanery or to appoint them to or deprive them of benefices without the special authority of the bishop. It was also declared that the losers in causes

³ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 319-22. Previous to his appointment as bishop, Cameron had been a canon of Glasgow, provost of Lincluden, king's secretary and official of St. Andrews. (See also *Medieval Glasgow*, pp. 60 *et seq.*)

decided by the archdeacon or his commissaries should have recourse by appeal to the bishop or his auditor.⁴

Bishop Cameron held, successively, the offices of secretary of state and keeper of the privy and great seals. He was chancellor of the kingdom from 1426 to 1439, and he also served on several embassies to England ; but notwithstanding the calls upon his time involved in the performance of official duties and the unpleasant interruptions arising out of his contests with ecclesiastical superiors and others, diocesan affairs, and especially those connected with the cathedral, were attended to with conspicuous efficiency. To the cathedral chapter already embracing twenty-six members, he procured an addition of seven prebends, and passed a series of statutes, regulating the attendance and duties of the canons, and the yearly sums payable by them to their vicars, and he ratified the ordinance issued by Bishop Matthew in 1401 for payment of certain sums on admission of prebendaries in order to provide the vestments and ornaments needful for service in the cathedral.⁵

The term vestments and ornaments, as used in *Registrum Episcopatus*, included the necessary equipment and furniture of the cathedral, whether of a decorative character or not, and as considerable expenditure was incurred in procuring and upholding these the money raised from taxed prebends would have been insufficient for the purpose unless supplemented by gifts from pious benefactors. A donation obtained from Walter Fitz-Gilbert in 1320 has been already referred to ;⁶

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* No. 332. Croyser was deprived of the archdeaconry in or about the year 1433, but it was subsequently restored to him, and by the decision of the dean and chapter in 1452 it was declared that the Archdeacon of Teviotdale had precisely the same jurisdiction in his district as the Archdeacon of Glasgow had in his part of the diocese (*Ib.* No. 373. See also " James I., Bishop Cameron and the Papacy " in the *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xv. pp. 190-200).

⁵ For a list of the prebends in Bishop Cameron's time see p. 193.

⁶ *Antea*, p. 149.



JAMES I.



LIST OF PREBENDS

193

Prebend.	County.	Position of Prebendary in Chapter.	Merks pay- able yearly to Vicar.		Contribution for Vestments and Ornaments.		
			Aug- ment- ation.	Total.			
1 Cadihou	Lanark	Dean	1	13	£5		
2 Kylbryd	Lanark	Chanter or Pre- centor	3	15	5		
3 Campsy	Stirling	Chancellor	2	14	5		
4 Carnwath	Lanark	Treasurer	4	16	5		
5 Peblis and Menar	Peebles	Archdeacon of Glasgow	1	14	5		
6 Merbotle	Roxburgh	Archdeacon of Teviotdale		10	5		
7 Cader	Lanark	Subdean	2	14	5		
8 Glasgow <i>primo</i>	"	Canon	2	14	5		
9 " <i>secundo</i>	"	"		8	1	6	8
10 Barlanark or Provan	"	"		9	5		
11 Renfrew	Renfrew	"	1	12	3		
12 Govan	Lanark	"	2	11	3		
13 Carstairs (Castletarris)	"	"	1	9	1	6	8
14 Moffat	Dumfries	"		11	5		
15 Erskine	Renfrew	Sacristan <i>major</i>		9	2		
16 Durisdeer	Dumfries	Subchanter		(a)	3		
17 Eddleston	Peebles	Canon		11	3		
18 Stobo	"	"		12	5		
19 Ayr	Ayr	"		8	5		
20 Old Roxburgh	Roxburgh	"	1	11	3		
21 Cardross	Dumbarton	"		9	2		
22 Ancrum	Roxburgh	"	1	11	2		
23 Ashkirk	" & Selkirk	"		9	2		
24 Douglas	Lanark	"		11			
25 Sanquhar	Dumfries	"		(b)	3		
26 Cumnock	Ayr	"		(c)	3		
27 Cambuslang	Lanark	"	1	10	3		
28 Tarbolton	Ayr	"	1	12	3		
29 Eaglesham	Lanark	"		9	3		
30 Luss	Dumbarton	"		9	3		
31 Kirkmaho	Dumfries	"		9	5		
32 Killearn	Stirling	"		10	3		
33 Polmade and Strathblane	Lanark and Stirling	"		(d)	2		

(Reg. Episc. Nos. 341-2; pp. 344-7.) For references (a), (b), (c), (d), see next page.

and on 2nd February, 1429-30, Alan Stewart, Lord of Dernele, gave to the church a set of vestments and ornaments on condition that he should have such use of them as he needed during his lifetime.⁷ The noting of these two transactions in the Register was apparently thought necessary to secure the donors in their reserved rights ; but there must have been numerous unconditional gifts of similar objects no record of which can now be traced. At the command of the bishop and chapter an inventory of all the ornaments, relics, jewels and books in the cathedral was made up by the chanter, the treasurer and two canons, in 1432-3.⁸ Among the relics enumerated in the inventory were two silver crosses, each ornamented with precious stones and containing a piece of wood, part of the true cross ; a phial or casket, with hair of the Blessed Virgin ; in a silver coffer, parts of the garments of St. Kentigern and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and part of the hair shirt of St. Kentigern ; in one silver casket, part of the skin of St. Bartholomew, the apostle, and in another a bone of St. Ninian ; a casket with a portion of the girdle of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; a phial with a fragment of the tomb of St. Catherine ; a bag containing a portion of the cloak of St. Martin ; a precious case with combs of St. Kentigern and St. Thomas of Canterbury ; and two linen bags with bones of St. Kentigern, St. Tenew, and several

(a) The prebendary of Durisdeer had to provide for the maintenance of six boys in the choir.

(b) Sanquhar is entered in list, but the sum is left blank.

(c) The prebendary of Cumnock paid 11 merks to the inner sacristan (*sacriste interiori*) for his maintenance.

(d) The prebendary of Polmade had to pay 16 merks yearly for the maintenance of four boys serving in the choir (*Reg. Episc.* Nos. 338 and 341).

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 337.

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 339. A translation of the inventory is given in Dr. J. F. S. Gordon's *Scotichronicon*, ii. pp. 451-7 ; and Bishop Dowden has given a partial translation and supplied valuable notes on the vestments and ornaments in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1898-9, pp. 280-329. The books are described by Professor Cosmo Innes in his Preface to *Reg. Episc.* pp. xlii-xlvi.

saints. At the Reformation most of the relics and jewels were carried to France by Archbishop Beaton, and such of them as were not otherwise removed for safety, and were found about the cathedral, ran the risk of being destroyed as objects of idolatry.

The parishes which, by Bishop Cameron's additions, had their rectors constituted members of the cathedral chapter were Cambuslang and Eaglesham in the county of Lanark, Tarbolton in Ayrshire, Luss in Dumbartonshire, Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire and Killearn in Stirlingshire.⁹ The remaining new prebend was in a peculiar position. Some particulars have already been given about the Hospital of Polmadie.¹⁰ At a conference held in the chapel on the west side of Edinburgh Castle, on 7th January, 1424-5, the Earl of Lennox acknowledged that the Bishop of Glasgow had full right to the patronage of the hospital with its annexed church of Strathblane, and he accordingly resigned any claim he had in favour of Bishop Cameron and his successors.¹ Having thus obtained a free hand in the disposal of these endowments, Bishop Cameron, with consent of his chapter, erected the hospital and church into a prebend of the cathedral, stipulating that the church should be served by a vicar, to whom should be paid 14 merks yearly besides getting the use of about thirty acres of land as a glebe.² It is not known if the hospital, as a refuge for poor men and women, was now discontinued, but even as a prebend of the cathedral its connection with Glasgow was soon severed.

⁹ The patrons consenting to the erection of these prebends were Archibald Earl of Douglas for Cambuslang, Sir John Stewart of Dernlie for Tarbolton, Sir Alexander Montgomery for Eaglesham, John Colquhoun, Lord of Luss, for that parish, Sir John Forestar and his lady, Margaret Stewart with Sir William Stewart, her son, for Kirkmahoe, and Patrick Lord Graham for Killearn (*Reg. Episc.* Nos. 336 and 340; also, vol. i. p. xlii.).

¹⁰ *Antea*, pp. 147-8, 158, 163.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 344.

² *Reg. Episc.* p. ci; letters by the bishop and chapter dated 12th January, 1427-8; ratified by a papal bull dated 5th December, 1429; *Ib.* No. 338.

In 1453 Isabella, Countess of Lennox and Duchess of Albany, founded the collegiate church of Dumbarton; and by some arrangement, to which the Bishop of Glasgow must have been a party, though particulars of the negotiation have not been discovered, the whole endowments of the hospital were transferred to the Collegiate church.³

Most local historians, following the lead given by John M'Ure, state that the building of manses for the prebendaries originated with Bishop Cameron, but in reality these churchmen, bound to give attendance at the cathedral during a considerable part of each year, must always have had suitable residences in Glasgow, and it is probable that the arrangement proposed in 1266,⁴ whereby the bishop then to be appointed was required to provide such additional space as might be required for the erection of manses, was substantially carried into effect about that time. Of the few recorded notices bearing on the possession of prebendal manses there is the narrative of an inquiry which took place in the chapel of Edinburgh Castle on 2nd March, 1447-8, for the settlement of a controversy between Mr. John Methven, canon of Glasgow, and Sir John Mousfald, chaplain, as to the ownership of a tenement on the north side of Ratounraw. The arbiters, consisting of Lord Chancellor Crichton and others, found that Mr. John had full right to the tenement as being annexed and belonging to the prebend of Edilston.⁵ At that time Methven was apparently prebendary of Edilston and thus entitled to occupy the tenement as his manse, a building about which some interesting particulars of later date have been collected.⁶

The great stone spire of the cathedral, from the level of the parapet of the central tower, was placed by Bishop Cameron, and he also completed the chapter-house, on one of the carved

³ Guthrie Smith's *Parish of Strathblane*, pp. 172-3.

⁴ *Antea*, pp. 122-3.

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 351.

⁶ *Glasgow Protocols*, Nos. 1477, 3485; *Glasgow Memorials*, p. 18.

bosses in the vaulting of which his arms are shown. The erection of the consistory house and library, an oblong structure of two storeys, which, with the addition of a third storey added in the seventeenth century, formed the south-west tower of the cathedral, is also believed to have been accomplished in the bishop's time⁷; and, not confining his building activities to the cathedral and its accessories, Cameron made an addition to the adjoining episcopal residence by adding the tower, which, according to M'Ure, bore his name and on which his arms were visible in 1736.⁸

As territorial lords the bishops had several grain mills throughout the barony. A mill on the River Kelvin served the Govan and Partick wards. Baddermonach ward, corresponding to the modern Cadder parish, had its mill at Bedlay, and Clydesmill supplied the wants of Cuik's ward or West Monkland. Two of the cathedral prebends also had mills as part of their endowments—the barony of Provan having its mill on the Molendinar Burn, and farther down the stream, at the foot of Drygate, the subdean having his mill, for the grinding of grain from his own lands and perhaps from others within the thirl.

So far as has been ascertained the burgesses of Glasgow, previous to the fifteenth century, were thirled to no mill in particular, and it is not till some years later that we have definite knowledge of the means provided for grinding their grain. Originally hand mills may have supplied all demands, but, in the interest of those overlords who possessed water mills, burgh laws of the thirteenth century forbade the use of

⁷ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), pp. 17, 19; (1914), pp. 25, 26. As mentioned, *antea*, pp. 128-9, it has been suggested that the south-west tower may have been so far erected in Bishop Robert Wischart's time.

⁸ *Mediaeval Glasgow*, p. 77. Dr. Primrose points out that the tower erected by Bishop Cameron was not, as generally supposed, at the southwest angle of the wall facing Castle Street, but was placed towards the east within the palace grounds.

hand-mills unless they had to be resorted to in consequence of great storms or want of water. In any case, it may be assumed that this primitive process would be superseded at an early date, and that the bishops would see to the supply of the requisite grinding facilities at one or other of the mills on the Molendinar Burn. At length a definite arrangement was concluded with Bishop Cameron whereby the burgesses and community were empowered to construct a mill on their lands of Garngadhill, on the north side of the Molendinar Burn, in consideration of their contributing two pounds of wax, yearly, for the lights around the tomb of St. Kentigern in the cathedral. These facts are ascertained from a document which is still preserved, being a Notarial Instrument, dated six weeks after the bishop's death, and certifying that the keeper of the lights acknowledged the yearly delivery of the specified quantity of wax from the time when the arrangement was made, a date, however, which is not given.⁹

From another source a further supply of lights was secured for the cathedral. Lands called at one time Collinhatrig, afterwards Conhatrig and now Conheath, in Dumfriesshire, formerly belonged to the Bishops of Glasgow, and under an arrangement between the Duke of Albany, then governor of the kingdom, and Bishop William, the revenues were annexed to the Hospital of St. Leonard in Ayrshire. But by a charter, dated 7th June, 1442, King James II. dissolved this union, and the rights in the lands were restored to Bishop Cameron, who bestowed the rents on the cathedral for the better supply of wax and upkeep of lights; and he also stipulated that any surplus of income should be applied in providing white lawn and other ornaments of the high altar.¹⁰

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 25-27 (4th February, 1446-7).

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 347; also p. cii. The yearly feuduty payable to the archbishop for the lands of Conhatrig in 1632 was £3 6s. 8d. (*Descriptions of sheriffdoms of Lanark and Renfrew* (1831), p. 149).



AENEAS SYLVIUS AT THE COURT OF JAMES I.

Bishop Cameron also instituted a mass to be called the Mass for the Dead Bishops and to be celebrated by the vicars of the choir and the four boys of the Polmadie prebend. For their services the vicars were to be paid eighteen merks yearly out of the farms of the burgh of Glasgow,¹ a most interesting stipulation, on the working out of which information would have been welcome. The only burgh farm payable to the bishops, of which we have any trace, was that of sixteen merks for the lands possessed by the burgesses; but, following the practice prevailing in royal burghs, additional "farms" were probably exacted for customs and other dues leased to the community. Out of these combined revenues the vicars might draw their annual allowance of eighteen merks.²

According to a tradition which George Buchanan says was current in his time, Bishop Cameron had the reputation of dealing harshly with his rentallers,³ but this may imply no more than that he took greater care than some of his predecessors had done to collect his yearly revenues as well as to exact the occasional heavy fines or casualties falling due on renewals of investiture. The agreement with the burgesses as to the town mill may be regarded as an example of the bishop's methodical way of transacting business; and if previous bishops had not already begun to keep the rental books, of which specimens are still preserved, bearing dates between 1509 and 1570, it is not improbable that Cameron introduced the system. Buchanan also states that the bishop was reported to have died, under mysterious circumstances, "in a farm of his own, about seven miles from Glasgow," on Christmas eve, 1446. Subsequent writers assume this "farm"

¹ *Reg. Episc.* p. cii.

² During the English occupation King Edward's collectors, in 1302-4, took £48 6s. 8d. and 40s. from the burgh farms. *Bain's Calendar*, ii. p. 424; *antea*, p. 141.

³ Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, 1821 edition, vol. ii. book xi. p. 225.

to have been the bishop's manor-house of Lochwood, which was situated about six miles east of the cathedral. But grave doubt is cast on the accuracy of the story, not only on account of its inherent improbability, but also by the following entry in the *Auchinleck Chronicle* (p. 6), which is regarded as containing a contemporary narrative of events :—" Ane thousand iiii^o xlvj. Thar decessit in the Castell of Glasqw, master Jhon Cameron, bischop of Glasqw, apou Yule ewyne, that was bischop xix yere." Besides, tradition was not altogether one-sided in its dealing with the bishop's character. John M'Ure, who wrote in 1736, found it hard to credit the story recounted by the earlier historians about Cameron, "from what good things we hear" about him. Viewed from M'Ure's standpoint the extortionate laird getting in his "racked rents" from "poor tenant bodies, scant o' cash," is transformed into the "great prelate, seated in his palace," and bounteously distributing favours among "his vassals and tenants, being noblemen and barons of the greatest figure in the kingdom."⁴ Exaggeration seems apparent in both accounts, but the fact of these being in circulation at so great distances of time bears witness to the exceptional influence exercised by Bishop Cameron while he ruled the see.

In the reign of James I. Scotland was visited by two observant strangers, one from the continent and the other from England, each of whom has left a record of his impressions of the country, in general, and the Englishman likewise refers to Glasgow in particular. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., was a guest at the king's court in the winter of 1435, and he describes Scotland as a cold, bleak, wild country, producing little corn, for the most part without wood, but yielding a "sulphurous stone" which was dug out of the earth for fuel. The cities had no walls, the houses were mostly built without lime, with roofs of turf in the towns. Hides,

⁴ M'Ure's *History of Glasgow* (1830 edition), pp. 18-20, 48.

wool, salt fish and pearls, were exported to Flanders.⁵ Though there is no evidence that Glasgow came under the notice of this keen observer most of his quoted remarks may be adopted as applying to its condition at that time, including the allusion to coal digging, which was then probably carried on in open quarries.

The other visitor just referred to was John Hardyng, who was sent to Scotland by Henry V. and Henry VI. of England, to procure deeds confirming the claims of English superiority over Scotland, and who, being unsuccessful in the search, returned with documents suspected to be of his own manufacture, but which he stated had been procured by purchase in fulfilment of the purpose of his mission. In his metrical *Chronicle* which propounds different schemes for the conquest of Scotland, Hardyng has the following remarks on Glasgow :

“ Returne agayne unto Strivelyne,
And from thence to Glasco homewarde,
Twenty and foure myles to S. Mongo's shrine,
Wherewith your offeryng ye shall from thence decline,
And passe on forthwarde to Dumbertayne,
A castell stronge and harde for to obtaine.
In whiche castell S. Patryke was borne,
That afterwarde in Irelande dyd wyne. . . .
. . . . Than from Glasgo to the towne of Ayre,
Are twentie myles and foure wele accompted,
A good countree for your armye everywhere
And plenteous also, by many one recounted
. . . . Next ⁶ than from Ayre unto Glasgew go,
A goodly cytee and universitee,
Where plentifull is the countree also,
Replenished well with all commoditee.”

⁵ Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 25-27.

⁶ In the course of an expedition starting from Carlisle and proceeding by Dumfries northward.

A plan is sketched for three armies traversing the country in a sort of conquering march and all three meeting at

“ Glasgo
Standyng upon Clyde, and where also
Of corne and cattell is aboundaunce,
Youre armye to vittayle at all suffysaunce.” ⁷

The *Chronicle* was written by Hardyng in his advanced age, and some of his remarks, such as his allusion to the “universitee” of Glasgow, are applicable to a period later than the reign of the first James. But in any case, the Englishman’s observations convey the impression that in the first half of the fifteenth century the country was in a fairly prosperous condition.

⁷ Hume Brown’s *Early Travellers in Scotland*, pp. 16-23.



JAMES II.

CHAPTER XXXII

REIGN OF JAMES II.—BISHOPS BRUCE AND TURNBULL—
MARKET CUSTOMS—FREEDOM OF ST. MUNGO—BARONY
AND REGALITY

THE reign of James II., with its long minority and short period of personal rule, was marked by many dramatic episodes, and owing to the scantiness of authentic records the narrative of these bulks perhaps too prominently in the historian's pages. Notwithstanding the disorders, interruptions and other evils caused by the rivalries between the Crichtons and the Livingstones, alternate custodiers of the young king, the plotting of the Douglasses and the measures taken for their final overthrow, the turbulent conduct of other members of the nobility and the efforts required for the subjugation of rebellious subjects, the country had attained a fairly prosperous condition when this chapter of its history closed with the untimely death of the king at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. In the administration of internal affairs parliament, which was frequently assembled, passed a series of laws for the regulation of commerce, the encouragement of agriculture, the organisation of judicial departments and the protection of various classes of subjects, who had hitherto been too much overlooked, specially including farmers, artisans and merchants. The law passed for the benefit of "the pure pepil that laubouris the grunde," whereby tenants were secured in the lands they leased during the currency of their tacks, still remains on the

statute book, the only scrap of legislation belonging to this reign which was allowed to survive the wholesale repeal of the Scots acts in 1906. In this statute Glasgow people had perhaps little concern, as it may be assumed that the system of rental right, with its fixity of tenure, enjoyed by the tenants in the barony was already in operation. Other acts of parliament which affected Glasgow, in common with the royal burghs, but which though superseded or fallen into desuetude, were not formally repealed till 1906, related to such subjects as the restraining of masterful beggars, avoiding dearth of victuals, precautions against the pestilence, holding wapinshawings and regulating measures of capacity; while, for the more speedy disposal of law prosecutions, a "secret council" of from eight to twelve persons was ordered to be appointed in each burgh of the realm. There was also a statute which narrated that the realm was greatly impoverished through sumptuous clothing both of men and women, and it was ordained that no man within burgh who lived by merchandice (unless he should be an alderman, bailie or councillor), nor his wife, should wear clothes of silk, nor costly scarlets in gowns, nor furrings of martens. Wives and daughters were to be apparelled corresponding to their estate, wearing "on their hedis schort curches with litill hudis, as ar usit in Flanderis, Ingland and uther cuntreis; and as to their gownys, that na woman weir mertrikis nor letvis nor talys of unfittande lenthe nor furryt under, bot on the Halyday." ¹

Bishop Cameron retained the chancellorship till 1439, after which it was held for a few years by Sir William Crichton. Crichton's successor in that office was James Bruce, then Bishop of Dunkeld, who followed Bishop Cameron in the bishopric of Glasgow. Bruce is styled Bishop of Glasgow and Chancellor on 19th June, 1447, but he must have died before 4th October

¹ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. pp. 21-29. "Mertrikis," martens, of the weasel species; "letvis, letteis," gray fur.

of that year, the date of a document in which the see is said to be vacant. William Turnbull, who had succeeded Bruce as Bishop of Dunkeld, likewise filled his place in the bishopric of Glasgow, the date of his appointment being 27th October, 1447.² In 1441 Turnbull is designated Keeper of the Privy Seal and in 1446 Keeper of the Privy Seal and Canon of Glasgow.³ This official position and the consequent freedom of intercourse between the bishop and the sovereign afforded favourable opportunities, of which advantage was freely taken, for obtaining protection against encroachment on the city's rights as well as for the extension of existing privileges.

In the old laws injunctions were repeatedly given for the market of each burgh having a monopoly of the trade within its own district or "liberty,"⁴ a term which in the case of a royal burgh usually denoted the shire within which it was situated, but for Glasgow its "liberty" was the barony. The burghs of Rutherglen and Renfrew being situated within so short a distance of each other, and Glasgow being placed between them, it was not surprising that questions as to precise limits should arise in places where there was no well-defined physical boundary. Towards the west Renfrewshire lands stretched along both sides of the Clyde and, similarly, on the east Rutherglen's market territory embraced portions of Lanarkshire on both sides of the same river. At these extremities the precise boundaries were perhaps dubious, and either through ignorance or wilful encroachment custom was being unjustly withdrawn from Glasgow market. Not only so, but the inhabitants of the Rutherglen and Renfrew districts were being obstructed in their attendance at Glasgow market,

² Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 322. The *Auchinleck Chronicle* (p. 41) has this remark: "In that samyn yer (1449) master William Turnbull said his first mes in Glasgu, the xx of September."

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, v. pp. 108, 222.

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. pp. 61, 162, 183.

thereby curtailing the trading privileges of the city. This led to a complaint by Bishop Turnbull, who represented to the king that the bailies, burgesses and communities of Renfrew and Rutherglen impeded the lieges and communities "of burgh and land" who brought goods to Glasgow market, thereby prejudicing the "privilege and custum grantyd to the kyrk of Glasgu of auld tyme" by the king's predecessors and observed in time past. The king thereupon, by letters granted under his privy seal, at Edinburgh, on 4th February, 1449-50, charged the communities complained against, and all others whom it might concern, that they should not trouble or impede any of the lieges coming or going to Glasgow with merchandise or other goods to sell or buy, but should suffer them to come, go, buy and sell, freely and peaceably without any hindrance. It was also ordered that no one of the burghs, nor any others, should come within the barony of Glasgow, "na within ony landis pertaining to Sant Mongos fredome," to take toll or custom, by water or land, of any person coming or going to the market, notwithstanding any letters of the king's predecessors, granted to Renfrew, Rutherglen, or any other burghs. By this stipulation the sanction given to the burgh of Rutherglen, by the royal charter of 29th October, 1226, for collection of toll or custom at the cross of Schedneston,⁵ must have been withdrawn, if indeed the practice had not already been discontinued. Besides the relief thus afforded, Glasgow was also secured in the collection of dues exigible from traders coming from other burghs, as well as from all other frequenters of the city's markets.⁶

In his representation to the king the bishop refers to the privilege and custom granted to the "kyrk of Glasgw of auld tyme," an expression which may be taken as comprehending the interests of all concerned in the market. Originally the market rights were conferred on the bishops and their succes-

⁵ *Antea*, p. 98.

⁶ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 27, 28.

sors as an essential privilege of the burgh they were authorised to establish and maintain, and "kyrk" was here used as an equivalent term. Though the bishops as overlords might, by the restoration of appropriated area, have received augmented custom, yet the chief benefit derivable from market extension and development must have accrued to the trading community.

It was customary for continental sovereigns and princes to be honorary canons of religious establishments in their respective territories, and following these precedents both James II. and James IV. became canons of Glasgow cathedral. In some remarks on cathedral services, based on information contained in the MS. Register of Glasgow Bishopric, then preserved in the Scots College at Paris, Father Innes refers to "King James IV. who was honorary canon of Glasgow, as the Kings of France are of St. Martin of Tours."⁷ The position in the cathedral thus attained by James II. is a further indication of his intimacy with the bishop, on whom in turn not a few favours were conferred. By this time the landed estates of the bishops in the vicinity of Glasgow, going by the name of the "Barony," must have been managed under some recognised form of jurisdiction; but so far as is known, the only writing bearing on the subject was the charter of Alexander II. confirming some of the lands in free forest.⁸ As early as the reign of the first Alexander churchmen were accustomed to hold courts within their own lands, and it is probable that the grant of free forest, and even that of free regality, next to be noticed, indicated not so much concession of new authority as confirmation of existing privileges. On 20th April, 1450, King James, having regard to the honour of the church of Glasgow, "in which he was a canon," and for the favour which he bore towards Bishop Turnbull, "his well-beloved councillor,"

⁷ *Spalding Club Misc.* ii. p. 365.

⁸ *Antea*, p. 109.

confirmed to him and his successors the city and barony of Glasgow, and lands commonly called Bishopforest, to be held in free regality or royalty, with all the privileges attaching to that tenure ; and in acknowledgment of the grant the bishops were to offer devout prayers and to deliver to the sovereign a red rose, yearly, in name of blench farm.⁹ The privileges thus bestowed, as more fully set forth in a charter of confirmation by King James III. on 15th July, 1476, include authority to administer justice (reserving only the four pleas of the crown), privilege of " chapel for serving brieves," and power to appoint a provost, bailies, sergeants and other officers of the city, and also a sergeant or officer of the regality. The sergeant was to carry a silver mace or wand with the royal arms on the upper end and the arms of the bishop on the lower end, for making arrestments and executing the bishop's precepts within the regality and throughout all his lands within the diocese.¹⁰

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 28-31. The original charter is still preserved. Its attached seal, in white wax, was entire when examined by Father Innes, but it is now somewhat broken and defaced. A copy of the charter, but unaccountably bearing date 22nd February, 1450-1, and having the name of one attesting witness omitted and four others added, is engrossed in each of the collections known as the Ancient Register and the Red Book of the Church (*Ib.* p. 36 ; *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 356, 362).

Cosmo Innes says : " A grant of regality took as much out of the crown as the sovereign could give. It was, in fact, investing the grantee in the sovereignty of the territory " (*Legal Antiquities*, p. 40). Though there is no extant charter of an earlier date than 1450 investing the bishops with regality powers, it is not improbable that such had been conferred before that time. So far as form is concerned the charter may be taken either as a confirmation or an original grant, and in the ratification by James III., noticed in the text, reference is made to the fact that " several " of his predecessors had granted to the church and see of Glasgow sundry liberties and privileges, and particularly the city, barony and lands in free regality. Accordingly, the charter of 1450 may merely so far have given formal expression to a condition of things which already existed, either under express grant or the operation of general law.

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 60-65. An act of parliament (1436, c. 11) regulated the kinds of wands to be carried by different officers. The king's officer had a red wand, three quarters of a yard long ; a regality officer, a wand of the same length, one end red and the other white ; a barony sergeant, a white wand an ell long ; and a burgh sergeant, a red wand like the king's officer (*Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. p. 20).

The right of "chapel (*capella*) for granting brieves," mentioned in the charter, consisted of the jurisdiction exercised by the bishops in the service of heirs, the process whereby an heir acquired a title to his ancestor's estate. In Ducange one sense of *capella* is given as equivalent to *cancellaria*; and to this definition may be traced the use to which the word was applied in connection with the service of heirs in Scotland. The king's chapel (*capella regis*) from which writs relating to the making up of the titles of heirs, technically called services, were issued, and to which, after inquisition, such writs were "retoured" (*i.e.* returned), was simply the chancery or chancery office, and similar nomenclature was extended to subordinate judicatories. Erskine, in his *Institute of the Law of Scotland*, says: "A lord of regality had a chancery proper to his jurisdiction, from whence he might issue brieves to his bailie for the service of heirs; and the service proceeding on such brief, when recorded in the books of the regality, was as effectual as a retour on a brieve issuing from the king's chancery." ¹

The passage in the charter of 1476 authorising the bishop to constitute within the city a provost, bailies, sergeants and other officers and to remove them was appropriate to a deed setting forth the original foundation of a burgh of regality, but in the case of Glasgow, a city already possessed of all the privileges of a royal burgh, it can scarcely be taken in its literal significance. If there had been any intention to interfere with the already existing practice of appointing the provost and bailies of the burgh, something more specific than mere words of ordinary style would have appeared in the charter; and therefore it may be assumed that, subject to such modification as the circumstances rendered necessary, the mode of election prevailing in royal burghs still remained applicable

¹ *Institute*, B. i. tit. iv. s. 7. Examples of brieves issued from the Glasgow chancery are referred to in *Glasg. Protocols*, Nos. 40, 186, 1314, 2033.

to Glasgow. Originally the provost was not an essential member in the constitution of a royal burgh, and in many towns no provost was appointed till a comparatively late period in their history. The "first provost that was in Glasgow" makes his appearance in 1453, and for more than a hundred years after that date the office was usually held by the bailie or depute-bailie of the barony and regality who was charged with the judicial administration of the landed district. Though nominated by the bishop, it is probable that from the first, as the extant records show was latterly the case, the provost was accepted by and received his commission from the bailies and council. The bailies themselves could only be chosen by the bishop from a leet presented to him by the old bailies and council, and the bailies so chosen received a formal commission which proceeded in the name of "the comburgesses and whole community of the burgh," an expression which may be taken as a survival of the early time when the bailies were appointed or leeted by the good men of the town assembled at the Michaelmas Court.²

Though, as has already been suggested, the lands around the city of Glasgow may have been subject to regality jurisdiction from earlier times it is not unlikely that Bishopforest, the territory bestowed on the church by the widow of the Lord

² A judicial document dated in 1554 (*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. dxl, dxli) narrates that "beyond the memory of man" it had been the custom for the old bailies and councillors to present to the archbishop, at Michaelmas, a leet of persons from which he chose the bailies for the ensuing year; and the earliest extant record of a municipal election in Glasgow farther illustrates the practice. This election was carried through at the head court held on the first Tuesday after Michaelmas, 1574, when Archbishop Boyd nominated his kinsman, Lord Boyd, bailie of the regality, as provost, and desired the bailies, council, and community to give him a commission of provostry, "conforme to use and wont." Then the provost, with the old bailies and council, presented a leet of eight persons, including the three old bailies and two craftsmen, to the archbishop, who chose from the leet three bailies, being one more than the usual number "in respect of the multitude of the people and trublis in office" (*Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 22, 23).

of Kilbryde,³ remained as an ordinary outlying estate till it was incorporated with the regality of Glasgow in 1450. Before that date these lands, lying in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Irongray and stewartry of Kirkcudbright, were probably cultivated by rentallers, whose successors eventually got their possessions converted into feu-holdings. Archbishop Dunbar, as is shown by the statement of his executors made up in 1548, drew rents from the lands,⁴ but it is not till seventy years later that we have specific information on the subject. During the archbishopric of John Spottiswoode, Lord Herries, who seems to have been connected with the estate as mid-superior, resigned his interest to that prelate, who apportioned the lands in feu-farm among the old tenants. In the year 1613 eighteen separate holdings were in this way conveyed to twelve feuars for payment of yearly feuduties, amounting *in cumulo* to £33 13s. 3d. Scots of old rental with 8s. 8d. of augmentation. Described as a twenty merk land, the area of Bishopforest may be approximately put down at 700 acres; and, assuming that the feuduties were allocated in proportion to extent, the largest holding must have contained about 100 acres and the smallest about three acres. In addition to the money payment the feuars had to contribute specified services to the archbishop's bailie on the lands retained in his possession. Seventeen horses for ploughing his fields, and twenty-nine reapers in autumn were thus requisitioned from the feuars to serve for specified times in the year, making up 13½ days' work in all. The largest holder supplied three reapers and two horses for one day, and the smallest was required to provide half a reaper for a day, an obligation which could be implemented by combining with another feuar similarly liable. The feuars were likewise bound to attend the courts of the "barony and regality of Bishopforest," for holding of which courts the

³ *Antea*, p. 110.

⁴ *Crosraguel Abbey*, i. p. 109.

archbishop undertook to appoint a fit bailie from among his servants and attendants, whom failing one was to be deputed from the qualified feu-farmers of the lands.⁵ Distinctive names of farms on the lower grounds now supersede the original designation, but a conspicuous height in the north-west of the parish, reaching to 1,285 feet above sea-level, still retains the name of Bishopforest.⁶

⁵ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* vii. No. 1025.

⁶ The writer of the *Old Statistical Account* (vol. i. p. 525) says that the hill though apparently the highest near Dumfries was "yet of no very steep or difficult ascent in most places, owing to a very extended and regular base, around which are planted several large and distinct farms and properties. Foxes bring forth in holes upon the Bishopsforest. When they begin to kill sheep anywhere in the parish, the huntsman, who is paid by the county, is sent for, and he seldom fails to unkennel a fox on that hill or in the woods around it."

Communion stones on the side of the hill, with a granite monument erected in 1870, commemorate Covenanting scenes and the conflicts between prelacy and presbytery. Tombs of martyrs "hanged without law by Lagg" are likewise to be seen near the parish burying ground, while in the churchyard itself is another attraction for pilgrim feet. This consists of a grave, over which a stone was "erected by the author of 'Waverley' in memory of Helen Walker, who died in the year of God 1791, and who practised in real life the virtues with which fiction has invested the imaginary character of Jeanie Deans." (*Ordnance Gazetteer*—"Kirkpatrick-Irongray"—iv. p. 436.)



POPE NICHOLAS V., FOUNDER OF GLASGOW UNIVERSITY.



CHAPTER XXXIII

FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW

IN the movement for the revival of letters and acquisition of knowledge which characterized the fifteenth century, manifesting itself in the establishment of an unprecedented number of universities, Scotland had an honourable share, as it can claim no less than three of these seats of learning to set against about a score which were founded in continental cities. Actuated, perhaps, so far by laudable rivalry of St. Andrews, but mainly inspired by intelligent zeal for the spread of knowledge, Bishop Turnbull, with the cordial co-operation of his sovereign, took the necessary steps for the institution of a university in the city of Glasgow. The head of the papal see, with whom rested the requisite authority, happened to be Nicholas V., a Pope specially eminent for devotion to learning, and in this combination of favourable circumstances all preliminary arrangements were successfully completed. It must have been about the time that negotiations were going on for the founding of the university that, in connection with the Universal Jubilee which had been proclaimed, Pope Nicholas decreed that for the faithful in this country a pilgrimage to Glasgow cathedral would be considered as meritorious as a pilgrimage to Rome, while a plenary indulgence was granted to all who should make true confession of their sins and present their offerings at the high altar. Of the offerings one third was to be remitted to the papal treasury, another third was to be used for the repair

of the fabric of the cathedral, and the remainder was to be applied towards the upkeep of pious places in the kingdom.¹

The documents bearing on the foundation of the university begin with a bull by Pope Nicholas V.² which has this opening sentence: "Amongst other blessings which mortal man is able, in this transient life, by the gift of God to obtain, it is to be reckoned not among the least that by assiduous study he may win the pearl of knowledge, which shows him the way to live well and happily, and by the preciousness thereof makes the man of learning far to surpass the unlearned, and opens the door for him clearly to understand the mysteries of the universe, helps the ignorant and raises to distinction those that were born in the lowest place." It is then narrated that the king had represented to the Apostolic see, "the prudent administrator of spiritual as well as temporal things, and the steady and unfailing friend of every commendable undertaking," that he was very desirous that a university should be established in his city of Glasgow, "as being a place of renown and particularly well fitted therefor, where the air is mild, victuals are plentiful, and great store of other things pertaining to the use of man is found." The Pope having fully considered the application, and being impressed with the "suitableness of this city, which is said to be particularly meet and well fitted for multiplying the seeds of learning and bringing forth of salutary fruits, not only for the advantage and profit of the said city, but also of the indwellers and inhabitants of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and the regions lying round about," therefore erected a university (*generale studium*) in the city, and ordained that it should flourish in all time, as well in

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 359-60, 366; *Medieval Glasgow*, pp. 87, 88. By what was apparently regarded as a valuable concession the citizens were permitted to use butter and milk meats instead of olive oil on certain fast days (Papal bull dated 26th March, 1451; *Reg. Episc.* No. 364).

² Dated 7th January, 1450-1, *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 31-35.

theology and canon and civil law as in arts and every other lawful faculty. The doctors, masters, readers and students were to enjoy privileges and immunities such as had been granted to the university of Bologna,³ and Bishop Turnbull and his successors, for the time being, were to be the chancellors of the university, with the same authority as those of Bologna, and specially the right to bestow the degree of master or doctor on those who should be found qualified. The students who in process of time should merit a diploma in the faculty in which they studied, and licence to teach for the instruction of others, and also those who sought the honour of master or doctor were to be examined by the chancellor, doctors and masters of the university, and those who were found to be qualified were to obtain their degree and licence from the chancellor, entitling them to rule and teach in any university to which they might choose to resort.

Proclamation at the market cross of a burgh was a recognized form of publishing the statutes of the realm, as well as of conveying other official intimations to the lieges, and not only the magistrates of a burgh but also the sheriff of the shire in which it was situated exercised this prerogative.⁴ In accordance with this rule Glasgow cross was available for the announcements of the bishop and his bailies of the regality, and in the Auchinleck Chronicle (p. 45) we have an interesting allusion to the ceremony which was witnessed when the foundation of the University and the Jubilee indulgence were proclaimed: "That samyn yer (1451) the privilege of the universite of Glasqw come to Glasqw, throw the instance of

³ From Bologna's eminence as a school of law it has been thought that in selecting that university as a model for Glasgow the founders designed it for primarily legal studies. In the university of St. Andrews predominance was given to theology, and it was probably intended that Glasgow should be strong where St. Andrews was comparatively weak. See *Scottish Historical Review*, vii. p. 172; xi. pp. 273-4.

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. pp. 18, 21, 50.

King James the Secund and throw instigacioun of master William Turnbull, that tyme bischop of Glasqw, and was proclamit at the croce of Glasqw, on the Trinite Sunday, the xx day of June. And on the morne, thar was cryit ane gret indulgence, gevin to Glasqw at the request of thaim forsaide, be Pap Nycholas, as it war the yer of grace, and with all indulgens that thai mycht haf in Rome, contenand iiii monethis, begynand the ix of Julii, and durand to the x day of November."

Though the ancient Italian university of Bologna, where Pope Nicholas had studied and obtained his degree, is cited as indicating the nature of the privileges conferred on the university of Glasgow, the customs and technical phraseology of the latter showed an imitation of the institutions of Louvain in Belgium, which Cosmo Innes remarks was then and for all the following century the model university of modern Europe. The first statutes divided the members of the university into four "nations," here following Louvain as well as general practice; and in the nations, as represented by their procurators, was vested the right of electing the Rector. Numerous members and graduates are noted in the first year of the university. There were lectures in Canon and Civil Law and Theology from the beginning, and these were delivered in the chapter-house of the Friars Preachers. But the Faculty of Arts alone received a definite shape and constitution. The members of that Faculty annually elected a Dean, had stated meetings, promulgated laws for their government, and acquired property. At Louvain the Faculty of Arts had four *pedagogia*. At Glasgow the Faculty of Arts speedily established one and applied its funds for the support of the building. Bachelors' degrees were conferred in Arts, and Licentiates and Masters of Arts were made, and these degrees were recorded not in the University registers but in the register of the Faculty.⁵

⁵ *Munimenta*, Preface, pp. xiii, xiv.



THE AULD PEDAGOGY.

The first general chapter of the university was held in 1451, for the incorporation of members, in the chapter-house of the Friars Preachers. About forty members were incorporated, the eleventh name on the list being that of the famous William Elphinstone, subsequently bishop of Aberdeen. Mr. David Cadzow, precentor of the cathedral, was chosen as the first rector. The next year's general meeting was held, in the presence of the bishop, who was *ex officio* chancellor, in the chapter-house of the cathedral, which continued to be the usual place of assembly down to the time of the Reformation.⁶

The Faculty of Arts had their first meeting in the chapter-house of the cathedral, when they elected William Elphinstone, canon of Glasgow and father of the subsequent bishop, as their Dean. This was in 1451, and on 28th July of the following year the appointment was renewed. On 19th October, 1453, the faculty met in the place of the Friars Preachers, and on this occasion a sum was levied from the graduates for repair of the school there. The next allusion to a school or place for carrying on the work of teaching occurs at the meeting of the Faculty held in the chapter-house of the cathedral on the morrow of All Saints, 1457, when a sum was contributed from the common purse to pay the rent of the "Pedagogium" and meet the losses sustained through famine, war and pestilence and the fewness of students in preceding years. The building here referred to is understood to be the Auld Pedagogy, which was situated on the south side of Ratounraw, being the chief place of residence and instruction before other premises were provided.⁷ Next year and up to 1461 all the money on

⁶ *Munimenta*, ii. pp. 55-60.

⁷ "Ratounraw" in *Regality Club*, iii. pp. 65-68; *Glasgow Protocols*, Nos. 1894-5. The Auld Pedagogy was sometime used as the manse of the Parson of Luss, and passing through various hands became ruinous in the eighteenth century. On its site part of the present Lock Hospital is erected. *Medieval Glasgow*, p. 93.

hand was appointed to be applied in building a pedagogium,⁸ presumably the new structure which superseded the Auld Pedagogy for which rent was raised in 1457.

As explanatory of the reference to war and pestilence and the scarcity of funds, it may be recalled that in March, 1455, the king opened a vigorous campaign against the Douglasses. Having demolished the castle of Inveravon in Linlithgowshire he hastened to Glasgow, and gathering a force of Westland men and Highlanders, carried fire and sword into Douglasdale, Avondale and the lands of Lord Hamilton. These devastating proceedings seem to have been followed by a visitation of famine and plague, one of the frequent accompaniments of war's ravages in these early days.⁹ Shortly afterwards Lord Hamilton was restored to the royal favour, and it was chiefly through his generosity that the university obtained suitable accommodation for carrying on its work.

Sometime prior to 1454 a tenement and grounds situated on the east side of the High Street, to the north of the place of the Friars Preachers, with four acres of adjoining land extending over part of Dowhill, on the opposite side of the Molendinar Burn, belonged to Sir Gavin of Hamilton, provost of the col-

⁸ *Munimenta*, ii. pp. 178-95; Coutts' *History of the University*, pp. 10-12.

⁹ "The yer of God mccccv, in the begynning of Merche, James the Secund kest doune the castell of Inveravyne, and syne incontinent past till Glasqw, and gaderit the Westland men, with part of the Areschery, and passit to Lanerik and to Douglas, and syne brynt all Douglasdale, and all Avendale, and all the Lord Hammiltounnis landis, and heriit them clerlye, and syne passit till Edinburgh, and fra thin till the Forest, with ane ost of Lawland men . . . And incontinent efter, the king passit in proper persoun, and put ane sege till Abercorn. And within vii days, Lord Hammiltoun come till him till Abercorne, and put him, lyf, landis and gudis in the kingis will purelie and sempillye, throw the menys of his eme James of Levingstoun, that tyme chalmerlane of Scotland. And the king resavit him till grace." . . (Auchinleck Chronicle, p. 53). According to the Chronicle it was in the November immediately preceding these events that there occurred the great flood on the river Clyde which swept away houses, barns and mills, and put the town of Govan "in ane flote." *Antea*, p. 4.

legiate church of Bothwell, and he by "a plane gift and a charter thairapoun" had conveyed the property to the prior and convent of the Friars Preachers. But this transaction had not been intended as an absolute transfer, and by letters of reversion dated 1st February, 1454-5, the prior and convent acknowledged that Sir Gavin was entitled to resume possession of the tenement and land at his pleasure. In the course of the ensuing six years changes must have been made in the ownership of which no trace has been preserved, and the property having come into the possession of Lord Hamilton, the elder brother of Sir Gavin, that nobleman conveyed it to Duncan Bunch, principal regent in the Faculty of Arts of the university, and his successors, for behoof of the regents and students in the Faculty for the time, on condition that they should perform certain acts of devotion and pay to the bishop the burgh ferm and other annualrents, all as set forth in a charter dated 6th January, 1460.¹⁰

How the lands thus transferred originally came into possession of the Hamilton family is not known, though it is not unlikely that this may have been brought about in connection with arrangements between the cathedral chapter and Walter Fitz-Gilbert, progenitor of the house of Hamilton, already referred to.¹ Some reversionary interest in the tenement and land seems to have been retained by the bishop, and to make the title of the university, or its Arts Faculty, unchallengeable, the bishop resigned all his claims in favour of Lord Hamilton, who thereupon gave valid investiture to Duncan Bunch in name of the Faculty. In allusion to his granting the site and such buildings as then existed thereon,

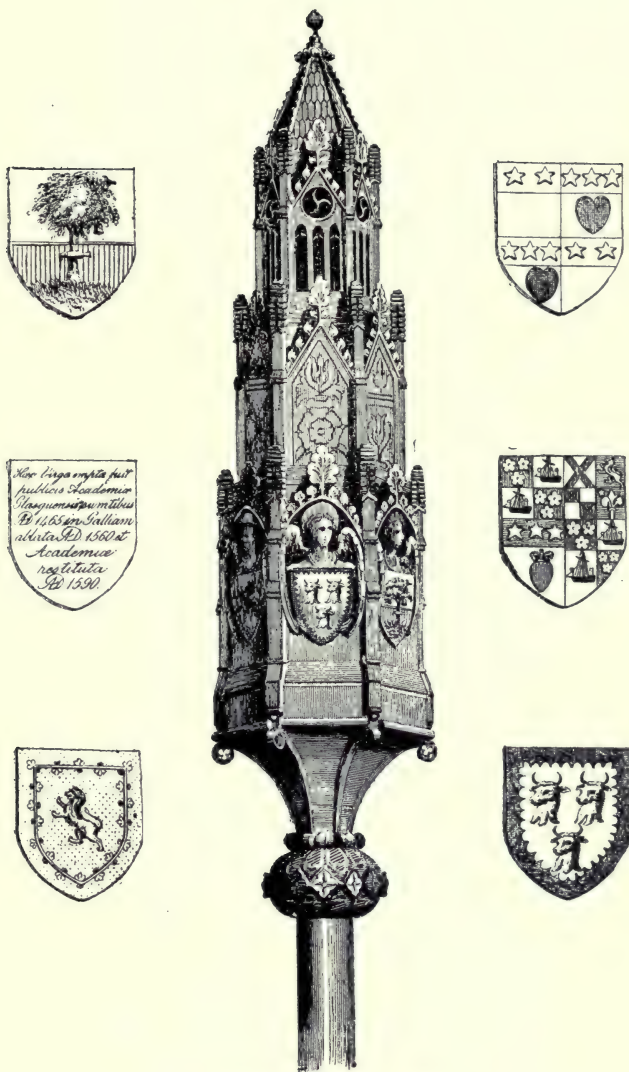
¹⁰ *Munimenta*, i. pp. 9-12, 14.

¹ *Antea*, p. 149. The Hamiltons were patrons of the Chapel of St. Thomas in the city, and on 22nd August, 1449, Lord Hamilton had conferred the chaplainry on master David Cadyhow, precentor of Glasgow cathedral (*Munimenta*, i. p. 15). The chapel itself latterly came into the possession of the university.

Lord Hamilton is designated, in the charter, founder of the College (*fundator Collegii*), and it is probable that the intimation of the gift had been made as early as 1458, when the Faculty first gave instructions for expenditure on the erection of a pedagogium. In the intervening three years progress must have been made with the buildings which were probably so far in use when the charter was granted. Building operations were still proceeding at that time, and six years later instructions were given for the erection of a house on the south side of the college, being on that part of the grounds which adjoined the place of the Friars Preachers. A tenement situated to the north of Lord Hamilton's property, with attached land extending to the Molendinar Burn, was gifted by Sir Thomas of Arthurle to the Faculty of Arts in 1467, but under reservation of his own liferent and that of William of Arthurle, then a regent in the Faculty.² The sites on the east side of High Street, thus acquired, were occupied by the university from the fifteenth century till the removal to Gilmorehill in 1870.

In recognition of the valuable service rendered by Lord Hamilton in providing accommodation for the university at the outset of its career his family arms appear on the mace, that emblem of academic authority which is associated with the earliest stages of College history. David Cadyow, first rector of the university, on the occasion of his re-election in 1460, gave what has been called the "munificent contribution of twenty nobles" towards providing a mace, and as other members, assembled at a congregation in 1465, submitted to a tax to make up the requisite funds, it may be assumed that a suitable mace would then be procured. In 1490 directions were given for the reforming and correction of the silver mace, and in the condition to which it was then altered it probably remained till, along with other valuables, it was for safety removed to France at the time of the Reformation. As now

² *Munimenta*, i. pp. 9-19.



THE UNIVERSITY MACE.

preserved the mace measures 4 feet $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height and weighs 8 lb. 1 oz. The top is hexagonal, with a shield on each side. On the first shield are the city arms, in a form similar to those in use in the seventeenth century; on the third, the arms of Douglas of Dalkeith, as borne by the Regent Morton, the restorer of the College in 1577; the fourth has the coat of Hamilton, the first endower; the fifth of Scotland; the sixth of Turnbull, the founder of the university. The second shield is occupied with an inscription, stating that the mace was bought, on the charges of the university, in 1465, that it was taken to France in 1560 and restored to the university in 1590.³

In extension of the privileges already conferred, King James, by a charter dated 20th April, 1453, took under his peace and protection the rector, deans of faculties, procurators of nations, regents, masters and scholars studying in the university, and exempted them as well as the beadles, scribes, stationers and parchment makers, from all tributes, gifts, taxes, watchings, wardings and tolls imposed or levied within the kingdom.⁴ This relief from national burdens was followed by a charter of Bishop Turnbull, dated 1st December, 1453, whereby, in relation to the city and regality of Glasgow, every one connected with the university was freed from similar liabilities. Specifically enumerated there were given to the doctors, masters and "supposts"—a term which embraced scholars and servants or other subordinates—(1) free power of buying and selling their own goods, specially food and clothing, free of custom and without licence from any one; (2) the privilege of sharing in the prices fixed for bread,

³ *Munimenta*, Preface, pp. xli-xliii. A common seal was ordered for the university in 1453 and a seal for the Faculty of Arts in 1455. The university also procured a seal *ad causas* to be affixed to documents of small importance. For description of these seals see Coutts' *History of the University*, p. 29.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 38.

ale and other articles of food, any dispute between the magistrates and the university people being referred to the bishop ; (3) jurisdiction to the rector in all disputes with citizens or inhabitants ; (4) right to occupy inns and houses in the city, so long as rent was paid ; (5) release to beneficed persons, while studying, from residence on their benefices ; (6) extension of all these privileges to beadles, domestics, scriveners and parchment makers, wives, children and hand-maids ; (7) exemption from all tributes, exactions, watchings, wardings, contributions, burdens and personal services.⁵ Supplementary to these privileges, the last perhaps of the favours which Bishop Turnbull had power to bestow on the university, as he died in the autumn of the following year, Bishop Andrew, the next prelate, by a charter dated 1st July, 1461, granted to the rector of the university full jurisdiction in all disputes between the "supposts" of the university or between them and the citizens, with this qualification that the accused was to have the choice between the rector and the bishop's official as judge. On a point of precedency it was ordained that in synods, processions, and other solemn occasions, the rector should have first place, next after the bishop, and before all other prelates in the diocese.⁶

A statute of the Faculty of Arts, dated 2nd May, 1462, made provision for the celebration of an annual banquet on the Sunday or Feast next after the Translation of St. Nicholas (9th May), but outsiders did not join in this display, and questions of precedency, such as those indicated in Bishop

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 39. In accordance with these grants and subsequent renewals the college buildings and grounds east of the High Street had been exempt from rates and assessments levied by the corporation and board of police ; and when, in the year 1872, the boundaries of the city were extended over the lands of Gilmorehill, to which site the university had removed in 1870, it was provided by the Extension Act that the university, its professors and officers, should have similar exemption and immunity in respect of the ownership or occupation of their new premises.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 53.

Andrew's charter, did not arise. All the masters, licentiates, bachelors and students were to assemble at eight in the morning and hear matins in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr; and thereafter they were to ride in solemn and stately procession, bearing flowers and branches of trees, through the public street from the upper part of the city to the market cross, and so back to the college, "and there take counsel for the welfare of the faculty and the removal of all discords and quarrels, that all, rejoicing in heart, might honour the prince of peace and joy." After the banquet the masters and students were directed to repair to a more fitting place of amusement, and there enact some interlude or other show to rejoice the people.⁷

Previous to the institution of the College the city's educational wants were supplied chiefly by the Grammar School, the regulation of which was the special care of the cathedral chancellor, and by the "sang" schools, over which the precentor or chantor had charge. But while the oversight of schools belonged to the church it is known that from early times municipal authorities freely co-operated with the clergy in promoting education within their bounds. Of the Grammar School in Glasgow the earliest preserved notice is contained in the abstract of a deed of gift, dated 20th January, 1460-1, whereby Simon Dalgleish, precentor and official, granted to master Alexander Galbraith, rector and master of the Grammar School, and his successors in office, a tenement lying on the west side of the High Street and south side to Rannald's Wynd.⁸ Unfortunately the document has not been preserved, and its contents can only be imperfectly gathered from the summary given by the compiler of the city's Inventory of Writs, in 1696. It is there stated that in return for the

⁷ *Munimenta*, ii. p. 39.

⁸ Rannald's Wynd, so named because it formed the entrance to ground called Rannald's Yard, was afterwards known as Grammar School Wynd, and part of its site is now embraced in Ingram Street.

gift the master and his scholars had to perform "some popish rites," and the important statement is made that "the said master Simon appoints the magistrates and council of the burgh patrons, governors and defenders of the said donation."⁹ It is likely enough that the magistrates had already some charge of educational affairs, but from this time they appear to have had the responsibility of maintaining the Grammar School, and though their exercise of the patronage was not always acquiesced in by the chancellor, they gradually acquired entire control in its management.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 436.



SEAL OF ANDREW MUIRHEAD, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1455-73.

CHAPTER XXXIV

BISHOP ANDREW DE DURISDERE—VICARS OF THE CHOIR— ST. NICHOLAS HOSPITAL

INCLUDED in the series of crowded activities which distinguished his short episcopate, Bishop Turnbull found time to complete his predecessor's work on the vestry erected over the chapter-house of the cathedral, as indicated by his coat of arms, carved on the exterior near the top of the west wall. So far as is known the next three bishops had no hand in the constructive work of the cathedral,¹ and it is not till the time of Bishop Blacader, who was elected in 1484, that any further development of the building is traced.

Varying accounts of the place and date of Bishop Turnbull's death are given, but the date 3rd September, 1454, noted in the Glasgow Martyrology,² if not correct, cannot be far wrong. Andrew of Durisdere, as he is designated in contemporary documents, though usually named Andrew Muirhead by later writers, was provided to the church of Glasgow by Pope Calixtus III., on 7th May, 1455, and he was consecrated as bishop either in the end of that year or the beginning of 1456.³ The church of Durisdeer, in Dumfriesshire, was the

¹ *Glasgow Cathedral* (1901), p. 21. Though no constructive work was entered upon the existing buildings were maintained in good condition, and it is specially stated that Bishop Andrew repaired the north aisle of the nave (*Reg. Episc.*, p. xlviii; *Gemmell*, p. 33, and authorities cited). His arms are engraved there and also on the south side of the choir (*Glasgow Cathedral* (1914), p. 85.

² *Reg. Episc.* p. 616.

³ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 324-6.

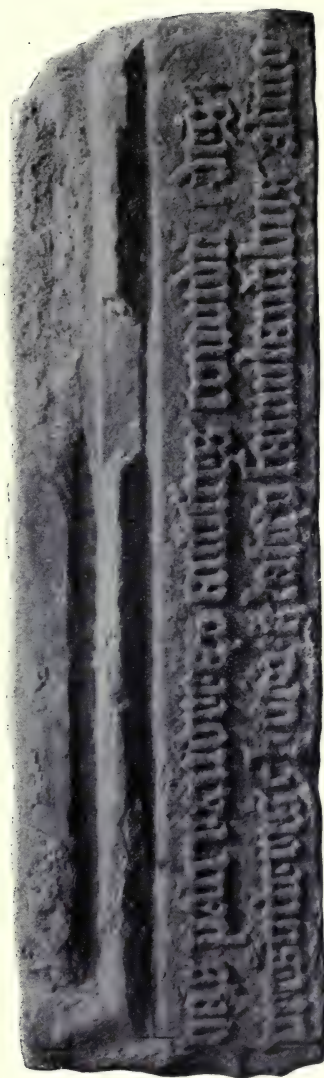
prebend of the sub-chanter in Glasgow cathedral, a benefice which has not been traced to Bishop Andrew, though he may have held it for some little time as he was a noted pluralist.⁴ If not his settled surname or a designation derived from the prebend, perhaps "Durisdere" was adopted from the place of his birth, and as it is known that he was related to a Muirhead family the name by which he was latterly known may be also accounted for. In the Martyrology, containing note of his death on 20th November, 1473, it is stated that "Andrew Mureheid," bishop of Glasgow, was founder of the College of the Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow, and this is corroborated by the following inscription found on a stone which it is surmised had originally been placed in a building occupied by the vicars, adjoining the cathedral :

Has pater Andreas antistes condidit edes
Presbiteris choro Glasgu famulantibus almo.⁵

If Bishop Andrew had really at one time held the position of sub-chanter, his consequent responsibility for the choral services in the cathedral would account for the interest he took in providing accommodation for the vicars, but whether or not his connection with the prebend was of this substantial nature it seems to have been sufficient to secure his patronage. The vicars, whose duty it was to furnish the musical part of church services, had a common residence erected on a piece

⁴ At the time of his provision to the bishopric Andrew de Durisdere was dean of Aberdeen, subdean of Glasgow, canon of Lincluden, and vicar of the church of Kilpatrick in the diocese of Glasgow.

⁵ (These buildings Bishop Andrew put up for the priests who serve the auspicious choir of Glasgow.) In the course of operations, under the Glasgow Improvements Act of 1866, on the west side of Saltmarket Street, the stone was taken from the back wall of a tenement entering by close No. 122. That building was comparatively new, having been erected in the eighteenth century, while the lettering on the stone was ancient. The buildings at the cathedral occupied by the vicars were deserted after the Reformation, and from their ruins the decorative stone may have been picked up and after being used in older buildings was eventually built into the Saltmarket tenement where it was recently found. It is now preserved in the Kelvingrove Art Galleries.



INSCRIBED STONE FROM THE PLACE OF THE VICARS CHORAL..

of ground situated to the north of the cathedral, between a lane called the Vicars' Alley on the west and the manse of the chanter or precentor on the east. In old records this residence was usually called the "place" and sometimes the "manse" of the vicars. There are also several references to the "hall" of the vicars, on one occasion called the hall of the College of Vicars of the Choir (*in aula collegii vicariorum chori*).⁶ It has been conjectured that the place and the hall were separate buildings and that parts of the under walls of the latter are now embraced in the low building which stands against the outside of the north wall of the cathedral, between the two buttresses at the west end of the north aisle of the choir. In its complete condition it is supposed that the hall, which was only a few paces distant from the manses of both chanter and sub-chanter, may have been used by the vicars for their business meetings, for music practisings and for a song school, while an upper storey may have provided a robing room for the vicars and a sleeping place for the sacristan.⁷ Though on these points our information is somewhat indefinite there seems to be little doubt that from one or other of these buildings the inscribed stone must have been removed subsequent to the Reformation.

Bishop Andrew's episcopate is associated with other buildings which have turned out to be of greater durability

⁶ *Diocesan Reg.*, Protocol No. 194.

⁷ Archbishop Eyre in *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 292-302; *Scottish Historical Review*, ii. pp. 110-1. The vicars owned, as their common property, many houses, lands and annualrents throughout the city and its suburbs, the management of which, including collection of revenue, was probably attended to by their procurator or other officer. A new plan seems to have been tried in 1507. On 15th May of that year twelve vicars, being the greater part of their number, assembled in the chapter-house of the cathedral, placed the whole of their common property under the administration of Roland Blacader, subdean, who agreed to pay each of the vicars serving in the choir ten merks yearly out of the annual proceeds, and to apply the remainder to the building and repair of the vicar's houses. If there should in any year be a deficiency of money for the pensions the subdean was to make it up from his own benefice. (*Diocesan Reg.*, Protocol No. 234.)

than those constructed for the vicars. These other erections consisted of a chapel and hospital dedicated to St. Nicholas, together with a separate tenement, three stories in height and containing three chambers in each storey. The whole group was situated a short distance from the bishop's castle or palace, on the west side of the street leading thence to the market cross. Nearest the castle was the tenement, an oblong building, 54 feet in front and 24 feet in width ; a few paces to the south was the chapel, and then a little farther on stood the hospital, which bordered on the small streamlet called the Girth Burn.⁸ No contemporary information is available regarding the chronological order of erection, but the natural sequence would be first the hospital, next the chapel and then the tenement to be used as dwellings partly for the officials of the hospital and chapel and partly for the accommodation of tenants as a means of raising revenue.⁹ The buildings occupied the site of a piece of ground which from its proximity to the castle stables was called Stable Green.

Bishop William Turnbull, with consent of the dean and chapter, had conveyed Stablegreen lands to another William Turnbull, a canon of the cathedral. From this canon the lands had come into the possession of Patrick Colquhoun, designated of Glen or Glyn or Glinnis, in Stirlingshire, some of whose

⁸ It was not till the year 1785 that, in connection with street levelling, arrangements were made for filling up the hollow at the burn, at that time the division line between the grounds of St. Nicholas Hospital and those of the Trades' Almshouse (*Glasg. Rec.* viii. p. 164).

⁹ In his *System of Heraldry*, published in 1722-42, Alexander Nisbet states that about the year 1471, the Bishop "founded near to the precincts of his Episcopal Palace, at Glasgow, an Hospital which he dedicated to the honour of St. Nicholas. The place where the divine service was is of fine aisler work of a Gothic form, and the windows supported by a buttress betwixt each of them ; upon the front, over the door, is the bishop's arms, surmounted of the salmon-fish, and a crosier or pastoral staff behind the shield. Opposite to the Hospital he built and devoted a house or manse for the priest or preceptor, upon which there is still to be seen the Bishop's arms, the crosier behind the shield, with the three acorns on the bend." (Quoted in Gemmell's *Oldest House in Glasgow*, p. 33, and notes added.)

descendants became influential people in the city. These transfers of Stablegreen are narrated in a Commission by Pope Pius II. for confirming the lands to Patrick Colquhoun, and in that deed some interesting topographical particulars are preserved.¹⁰ Out of the lands there was payable to the bishop iros. Scots, yearly, together with irod. in name of burgh maill, an exaction the few references to which contained in the Glasgow records are not so explicit as could be desired.

How the southern portion of Stablegreen came into the Hospital's possession has not been ascertained, but the remainder of the ground, on part of which the Glasgow residence of the Colquhoun family was probably erected, seems to have been retained by them till it was transferred to the Earl of Lennox in 1509.¹

¹⁰ *Maxwells of Pollok*, i. p. 179. The east boundary of Stablegreen was a road in the line of the present High Street and Castle Street, the northmost point being marked by two crosses placed at the common pasture land, apparently Easter Common, and the southmost point touching the tenement or manse of John of Hawyk, vicar of Dunlop, property to the north of Rottenrow, described in a title deed dated 22nd March, 1430-1 (*Lib. Coll.*, etc., p. 246). The north boundary was a common way leading to a place called Otterburne's Cross, perhaps so named from some connection with William Otterburne who was a bailie in 1435. On the west Stablegreen adjoined the yard or manse of Richard Gardner, vicar of Colmanell; and then returning eastward the south boundary was the pool or stank (*stagnum*) which lay in the hollow on the north side of Ratounraw, and the small stream called the Girthburne, till the vicar of Dunlop's property was again reached.

¹ John Colquhoun, son of Patrick, who first acquired Stablegreen, married Katherine Stewart, daughter of Matthew, earl of Lennox, father of the second Earl Matthew to whom the Lennox mansion or its site was conveyed. It was no doubt through the relationship constituted by this matrimonial alliance that members of the Colquhoun family were selected for the provostship, and, presumably, they also acted as depute bailies of the barony.

The Colquhouns, as rentallers and proprietors, were extensive owners in the city and barony. George Colquhoun who, through his provostship, gave name to Provosthaugh, now part of Glasgow Green (*Glas. Rec.* viii. p. 676, No. 1499) had besides these lands Bedlay, Molens and Cuninglaw in rental, in 1535, but in consequence of his daughter and heiress, in that year, marrying Robert Boyd, afterwards the fourth Lord Boyd, all these possessions ultimately became vested in the Boyd family. (*Chiefs of Colquhoun*, ii. p. 260; *Dioc. Reg. Rental Book*, pp. 79, 107; *Glasg. Rec.* vii. p. 657.)

The other endowments of St. Nicholas Hospital chiefly consisted of considerable areas of lands scattered over the crofts in and around the city. These lands, so far as not cultivated by the hospital's own dependents, appear to have been treated on the system in operation on the estates of the bishops. Rentallers were put in possession for payment of rents in grain or money, and the leases were renewable by their successors on payment of certain sums on a specified scale. These rents were no doubt originally adequate, but owing to the rise of prices and the depreciation of the currency the annual money payments can now be regarded as little more than nominal. Rental rights were in course of time converted into feu-holdings, and the rents into feuduties. Some of these feuduties are still collected, but others have been redeemed, while not a few are believed to have been lost on account of changes in management and other vicissitudes.²

According to the best information now available, the hospital was originally intended for the accommodation of twelve poor men, with a priest, who exercised control over the establishment, and was designated preceptor, magister or "maister." If a foundation charter ever existed, though the formality of granting such a writ was perhaps dispensed with, it has not been preserved; but the scope of some of the regulations can be gathered from the terms of an agreement entered into in February, 1583-4, for the "reparatioun of certane wrangeis and contraversys betwixt the maister and stallaris."³ Sir Bartholomew Simpson, the priest who then

² The earliest preserved Rental seems to have been made up in 1625. See *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 626-30. The long list of lands and annualrents there given looks imposing when placed beside the meagre rental of 1783 (*Glasg. Rec.* viii. pp. 87, 88). At the later date the number of the beneficiaries was reduced to four.

³ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 115-6.

held the appointment of master, was one party to this transaction, and the other party was a representative of the "stallaris and possessouris of the stallis and beddis of the said hospital," eleven in number (there appears to have been one vacancy), all of whom are named. Two of these inmates or "stallaris" have the prefix "Sir," denoting the priestly grade, the Reformation being doubtless responsible for their decayed condition. By the first stipulation for the redress of grievances the master became bound to pay the poor men all arrears and regularly settle their monthly allowances in future. As to clothing, each of the men was to get "ane new quhyte claith goun" every third year, four of them to be thus clad the first year, the like number each of the two following years, and so on with renewals by continuous rotation. Bedding with coverlets and blankets, straw or heather, with "bousters," were to be provided for twelve beds; and each of the poor men was to be supplied with "ane pair of doubell solit schone" on the first of January, yearly; "with sax pence to every ane for thair kaill silvir." Beyond this contribution for "kaill," which seems to apply to only one day in the year, there is no reference to food, and therefore it may be assumed that out of his monthly allowance each had to provide his own meals as well as any article of clothing other than the yearly pair of shoes and the triennial gown. Among other comforts the inmates were to be supplied with coals for the fire and candle at evening "to the prayeris"; and the hospital and houses pertaining thereto were to be slated, repaired, and kept wind and water-tight. On the part of the "tuelf puir men" it was provided that they should reside in the hospital and not sell their "claithis on bed or back," nor remove the bed or bed clothes out of the hospital, and they were to keep their ordinary hours within the house and attend the kirk for prayers and preaching. Infringement of the rules was to be followed by the ejectment of

the defaulter and the appointment of another "stallar" in his place.⁴

Subsequent references to both hospital and chapel will appear in due course, but here it may be noted that the former is understood to have been deserted as a residence in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the building having become ruinous the site was sold in 1789. The chapel appears to have stood for about twenty years after that date, but it too became dilapidated, and the combined sites, extending to 1510 square yards, after being in possession of the town council for a short time, was acquired by a purchaser in 1810.⁵ The tenement is now included in the premises called "Provand's Lordship," and has the distinction of being the oldest dwelling-house in the city.⁶

⁴ These regulations were no doubt adapted from those observed under pre-Reformation conditions which were probably similar to the rules appointed for the hospital in Aberdeen, founded by Bishop Gavin Dunbar in 1531. There the number of inmates or bedesmen was twelve, as in Glasgow, and they were housed in separate chambers, each 14 feet by 12 feet, and having a fireplace. The common hall measured 36 feet by 16 feet, and there was a chapel of the like size, with a belfry and bell. The chaplain was a chantry priest in the cathedral. Each bedesman was to receive 10 merks yearly, by quarterly instalments, with an extra merk at Michaelmas to buy a white cloak. Each week one of the bedesmen was appointed janitor, with custody of the keys of the hospital gate and doors, and he had to ring the bell at the appointed hours. Certain times were fixed for rising and retiring to rest, partaking of meals, attendance at prayers in the chapel and mass in the cathedral, and provision was also made for joining in processions and celebration of festivals, and for "pursuing virtuous exercises," either in the cells or in the orchard, labouring among the herbs and fruits (*Reg. Episc. Aberdonensis*, i. pp. 399-401; Gemmell's *Oldest House in Glasgow*, pp. 36-40).

⁵ *Glasg. Memorials*, pp. 255-63.

⁶ With the view of securing the efficient maintenance of the building it was acquired by a society called the Provand's Lordship Literary Club in 1906, and there has since been formed in it a library and museum of local antiquities. The house is open to the inspection of the public throughout the year, and during the winter season exhibitions are held and lectures given on subjects specially connected with Old Glasgow.

CHAPTER XXXV

FRIARS PREACHERS OF GLASGOW AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS

SOME of the early donations to the convent of Friars Preachers in Glasgow have already been referred to,¹ and as bearing the burden of voluntary poverty had ceased to be a binding vow upon the Order, these were followed by a long series of endowments which must have sufficiently provided for ordinary wants.² Of several grants of revenues and lands from country districts, the gift of Balagan in the parish of Strathblane, Stirlingshire, by Isabel, duchess of Albany and countess of Lennox, was perhaps the most notable.³ The charter is dated from Inchmyrryne, in Loch Lomond, on 18th May, 1451, twenty-six years after the tragic deaths of her father, her husband and her two sons, for whose repose the lands were mortified.

From about the year 1430 the grants of lands and other extant muniments enable us to trace the succession of the Priors, though not in a complete line. On 19th September, 1430, the Prior of Blantyre bought and transferred to the

¹ *Antea*, pp. 159-60.

² Many of these grants are specified in *Munimenta Fratrum Predicatorum*, issued by the Maitland Club in 1846. In that work the word "chetis," which strangely enough puzzled the editor, and is commented on at p. xlv. is obviously a misprint for "thecis," the letters "t" and "c" in old writing being often indistinguishable. Thus in the earl of Argyle's grant, in 1481 (p. 192), instructions were given to pay twenty shillings yearly, "de thecis nostris"—from our coffers.

³ *Ibid.* (*Lib. Coll.*, etc.), pp. 171-2.

Friars a tenement lying on the west side of the High Street, symbolic possession being given by John Wyschart, bailie of Glasgow, to James Boyd, prior, in name of the convent.⁴ Four years later Brother Oswald was Prior, as is shown by an Indenture between him and the convent, on the one part, and John Flemyng of the Cowglen, on the other part, dated 22nd January, 1433-4. By this document, which is written in the vernacular, Flemyng conveyed to the Friars a rood of land on the south side of their place and east side of the High Street, for which they were to pay ten shillings Scots yearly, and to provide "stabylling for twa hors in that samyn place, or ellis within the Freris, tyll the said John Flemyn, quhen hym lykis tyll cum tyll do hys erandis or mak residens within the town." If he chose to come and dwell in Glasgow the Friars undertook to build for him "an honest hall, chamir and butler, with a yard for to set cale in"; and so long as he should possess these conveniences the money payment was to cease.⁵ Cowglen is situated in the parish of Eastwood in Renfrewshire,

⁴ *Lib. Coll., &c.* pp. 164-5. The Friars thereby became liable for the yearly "ferm" owing to the bishop and the other accustomed duties; and from this condition and similar stipulations occurring in other title deeds it seems likely that the bishops collected from city tenements dues similar to the burgh maills levied in most royal burghs.

The following is a list of the Priors and their periods of rule so far as ascertained:—James Boyd, 1430; Friar Oswald, 1434; John of Govan, 1447-56; John Mure, 1468; William Knokis, 1471; Patrick of Govane, 1471-6; John Smyth, 1478; Andrew Cunyngham, 1481; David Crag, 1484-7; Thomas Symson, 1497-1514; John Spense, 1517-8; Robert Lyle, 1519-22; Alexander Barclay, 1529-30; George Crechtoune, 1532; Robert Lyle (second rule), 1542; John Huntar, 1553-8; Andrew Leich, 1560. In 1470 Prior John Mure was, by the provincial council of England, appointed Vicar General of the order of Saint Dominic in Scotland; and this kingdom itself having been erected into a province before the year 1487, he became its first Prior Provincial (*Ibid.*, pp. xlvii-lxv).

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 166-7. An indenture was written, in duplicate, from a blank space in the middle towards each end of the used parchment or paper which was then divided, along a wavy or indented line in the blank space, and the appropriate section was retained by each party. In the present case the common seal of the Friars was set to the part of the indenture remaining with John Flemyng, and his seal was set to the part remaining with the convent.

and the laird in this way secured a town residence. Perhaps resort to similar practices was not uncommon at that time, for it is known that in the following century many country people possessed houses in the city. Of the early fifteenth century houses in Glasgow we have scarcely any definite knowledge, and it is interesting to learn that a town house of three apartments was considered sufficient for the requirements of a country laird.⁶

On 19th April, 1456, Duncan Flemyng, then laird of Cowglen, resigned to David of Cadioche, precentor of Glasgow, all claim which he had to a tenement on the east side of the High Street, described as lying between the land of the late Katherine de Ennerphefyr on the north, and the land of William of Robertson's heirs on the south.⁷ The relative positions of the rood of land and the tenement are not specified, but it rather looks as if the whole of Flemyng's High Street property had not been transferred to the Friars in 1434.

Friendly relationship and the desire for neighbourly accommodation always existed between the College authorities

⁶ One of the few early references to buildings in Glasgow occurs in a title deed dated 11th February, 1435-6. There it is narrated that a burgess sold to Robert de Moffat, treasurer of the church of Glasgow, (1) the half of three booths and two lofts lying at the south end and on the east side of the great street leading from the cathedral to the market cross, between the land of John of Dun on the north and the "Conyhe" to the common street on the south, of which booths and lofts John Dun held one half; and (2) an annual-rent of one merk payable furth of a tenement, newly built and covered with "sklate," lying on the north side of Gallowgate, between the tenement of William Raite, burgess, on the east, and John of Dun's land on the west. It thus appears that in the reign of James I. the buildings at the corner of High Street and Gallowgate, fronting the market cross, consisted of merchants' booths on the ground floor, having storage lofts above, and that an adjoining tenement, newly erected, was roofed with slate. *Lib. Coll.*, etc., p. 250.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 380. The witnesses were John Steuart, provost of Glasgow; William of Otterburne, and John Rede, bailies; John Schaw, Andrew Brady, John of Hall, John M'Mulan and John Rankyne, burgesses; Sir John of Restown, vicar of Kilbryde and notary, Sir Nicholas of Hall, chaplain, ministering in the choir of Glasgow, and Robert Hyne.

and the Friars, and it was only befitting that mutual benefits should be conferred as opportunity occurred. As an illustration of such intercourse reference may be made to an endowment bestowed shortly after the university was established. David de Cadzow or Cadioch, first rector of the university, having used the chapter-house of the Friars for the reading of some of his lectures on canon law, besides receiving other favours at their hands, was desirous of making some suitable return, and being possessed of a large number of annualrents, he, in May 1454, transferred to the Friars twenty-eight of these, amounting to twelve merks yearly. In his deed of gift and foundation the rector avowed the regard entertained by him for the Friars, expressing his desire for the more efficient celebration of divine service, and he directed that the annual revenue should be applied towards the maintenance of the Friars and the repair of their church and place, due provision being made for a daily mass at the altar of the Virgin Mary. On the anniversary of the donor's death (which it may be noted occurred on 19th August, 1467) there were to be various religious observances, and the handbell of St. Kentigern, or another if it could not be got, was to be tolled through the town. The document bearing record of the prior and convent's undertaking to fulfil their part of the arrangement is authenticated with their own seal and also the seal of David Raite, vicar-general of the Order of Friars Preachers in Scotland, and these two seals are still preserved in good condition. The common seal of the burgh of Glasgow which had likewise been appended is now missing.⁸

By an indenture dated 18th December, 1454, John Stewart,

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* pp. 173-6; *Glasg. Chart.*, ii. pp. 441-4. The seal of the Friars is thus described :—Within a canopied niche a representation of the coronation of the Virgin. The Father seated on the sinister with arched crown and nimbus, his right hand holding up the chrism, the Virgin seated on the dexter with open crown and nimbus. Above is what is supposed to be the dove.

who is there designated "the first provest that was in the cite of Glasgw," gave to the prior and convent a tenement lying in "Walcargat," as Saltmarket Street was then called, a rig of land lying in the "Palyhard Croft,"⁹ and certain annual-rents. In consideration of this gift the Friars were to perform certain masses at St. Katherine's altar in their kirk "for the said Johne Stewartis saule, hys eldyris saulis, and all Chrystyn saulis," and the *De profundis* was to be said in presence of the people. On the day of the provost's decease St. Mungow's bell was to be rung through the town, and each friar who said a mass for his soul was to receive "sex pennyes and a galown of the best sale ale of the town" to his collation. The prior and convent agreed that Stewart and his wife and heirs should have their "bodyis and banys sepulturyt at the north end of the said altar of Sant Katryne."¹⁰ Provost Stewart died before 25th June, 1485, leaving as his heiress a daughter, Jonet Stewart, wife of Robyn Hall of Fulbar. These spouses, on the date just mentioned, made an indenture with the prior and convent similar to that which the provost had entered into. The same allowance of ale was to be provided, and it was specially added that there should be "brede and chese to the collacioune."¹¹

Legend S · CME · FRATRV · PREDICATORV · GLASG.—Common seal of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow.

There are some grounds for identifying David Raite as the author of *Ratis Raving* and other poetical pieces preserved in MS. in the University Library, Cambridge. See articles by Dr. J. T. T. Brown in the *Scottish Antiquary*, xi. pp. 145-55; xii. pp. 5-12.

⁹ This croft is now usually called Pallioun Croft in title deeds. It lies on the north side of Argyle Street, between Queen Street and Mitchell Lane. The lands of Meadowflat formed the northern boundary, and on the west was Glasgow (now called St. Enoch's) burn. The ground was low lying, and during spates must occasionally have been flooded. From a pool in the burn's course, or a pool in the adjoining land, occasional or permanent, the descriptive designation pol-yard, varying into pal-yard, may have been derived. See other conjectures on the origin of the name in *Regality Club*, 3rd series, p. 115.

¹⁰ *Lib. Coll. etc.*, p. 176; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 43.

¹¹ *Lib. Coll. etc.*, pp. 195-8.

John Stewart, who is referred to as the first provost of Glasgow, is found in office on 10th May, 1454, and was probably appointed at the usual period of election in October preceding. In a charter dated 1st December, 1453, whereby Bishop Turnbull conferred various privileges on the university, the provost is referred to, but no earlier notice of his holding office has been discovered. It has been conjectured that the appointment of a provost in Glasgow was an outcome of the charter of 1450, whereby the bishop's city and lands were declared to be held in free regality. In that charter there is nothing said on the subject, but in a confirming charter, granted by King James III., on 15th July, 1476, it was specially provided that the bishops should have power to appoint a provost, bailies, sergeants and other officers, for the rule and government of the city.² If, therefore, the first appointment of a provost was made by the bishop in his capacity of lord of regality he must have acted under the implied authority contained in the grant of 1450.

Provost Stewart is understood to have belonged to a family who had a long and influential connection with the city. In the year 1429 Sir William Stewart of Dalswinton and Garlies obtained the estate of Minto, in Teviotdale, and bestowed it upon his third son, Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, ancestor of the Lords Blantyre. John Stewart, the provost, was the younger brother of Sir William. By the marriage of Sir Thomas with Isabel, eldest daughter and co-heir of Walter Stewart of Arthurly, of the Castlemilk family, he acquired extensive estates in the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, and thus was commenced the family connection with Glasgow and its neighbourhood. Sir Thomas was himself provost in 1480-1, and his descendants frequently filled that office.

With the University in active operation and the neighbouring Friars prosperous there seems to have arisen a demand for building accommodation in that vicinity, and as the Friars

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 60-65.

had some ground to spare they, as set forth in an Indenture dated 12th June, 1467, agreed to feu certain roods of land lying to the south of their cemetery, for payment of such annual sums as might be adjusted by the provost, bailies and community and the prior and his council, and to this arrangement the bishop, as represented by his chancellor, gave his express consent.³ In the following April the provost, bailies and community, with consent of the prior and convent and also of the bishop, feued to Thomas Kerd, burgess, and his spouse, two roods of land described as lying on the east side of the High Street, upon the Friars' fore and west walls, between the lands of John Rankin, smith, on the south, and unbuilt lands on the north ; for payment of ten shillings Scots money, yearly, to the prior and brethren and of the accustomed burgh farms owing to the bishop. The successors of the original feuars were to pay 13s. 4d. yearly, and the two roods were not to be sold for a higher rate without the consent of the community and the friars. On 27th July, 1468, other two roods of ground, described as lying in the vennel called Freir Wynd, in the yard of the Friars, and adjoining a stone wall, were sold to William Jaksoune, burgess, and his wife, for payment of a yearly feuduty of 6s. 8d. On 24th March, 1470-1, Thomas Kerd acquired additional ground which was described as lying near the cemetery, extending from his house at the entrance to the cloister, between seven aspen trees, on the north, and the enclosure at John Rankyn's building on the south. Other sales are recorded, including one of unbuilt lands conveyed, in 1478, to Robert Forester, who bound himself to construct, under his building, a gate and passage to the Friars' church, with a niche or window above the entrance for the reception of an image of the Blessed Virgin.⁴

Not long after the introduction of a national literature, as exemplified in the writings of Barbour and Wyntoun, with

³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 454-6.

⁴ *Lib. Coll.* etc., pp. 180-4, 190-1.

whose historical works it may be assumed that most intelligent clerics, including those professionally employed in the preparation of legal documents, would be to some extent acquainted, occasional specimens of title deeds written in the vernacular begin to make their appearance. The earliest extant document of that description relating to property in Glasgow is of some intrinsic interest, as it specifies the conditions under which a piece of ground was disposed of for building purposes. As printed for the Maitland Club,⁵ the deed is dated 20th October, 1434, but as it was granted by John Stewart, subdean, during

⁵ Appendix to *Lib. Coll.* etc., p. 249. The deed is inscribed "vj schillingis viii penyis out of Thome of Welkis land in the Densyd" and is in the following terms: "Be it mad kennyt tyil al men be thir present lettres me Johne Stewart, sudan of Glasgu, with the consent and the assent of a reverent fadyr in Crist, Wilyame throu the grace of Gode byschop of Glasgu, and the chapter thairto callit till haf gyffyn and grantit and in fe heritably latyn ane akyr of land of my land callit the Densyde lyand in lynth and brede on the north syde of the comown strete callit the Ratownrawe next a west half the tenement of Thom Curouris wyth al fredomys and esementis that to the said akyr pertenyis or may perten in tym to cum, til Thome of Welk, burges of the said burgh of Glasgu, his airis and assignez of me, my successouris, sodenes of Glasgu for the tyme beand: Gyfiand to me and my successouris, sodenes of Glasgu for the tyme beand, at two usuall termys, Quhitsonday and Martynmes, yherly, sex syllingis and acht penyis [of usuale mone] of Scotland, the said Thom of Welk, his airis and assignez, anerly, for ony demandis, exaccioun . . . said Thome of Welk beand oblist to byg a sufficiand tenement on the said akyr of land within a yher folowand the date of thir letrez, and alsua to mac the half of the calse before the forfront of the said akyr als far as to thaim pertenyis and til uphald. And I the said Jon Steuart and my successouris sudenez of Glasgu sal warande the said akyr of land to the said Thome of Welk, his airis and assignez aganys al men and women and perpetually sal defend. In the witnes of the qwhilk thyng the sele of the said reverent fadyr byschop of Glasgu and the sel of the chapter togedyr with my sele ar put to thir present letrez, the xx day of the monethe of Octobyr, the yher of our Lord m. cccc. xxxiiij. Witnes, atour bodely takyn, Schir Jon of Dalgles, Schir Jon of Neuton, Schir Richard of Are, vicaris in the quere of Glasgu, and Schir Water Ra, notar, persoun of the Garvald, with mony othyr witnes takyn and to callit, etc." [Probable date, 20th October, 1424.]

Glossary:—acht, eight; anerly, only; atour, besides; atour bodely takyn, besides the writing's own evidence; beand, being; brede, breadth; byg, build; calse, causeway; fadyr, father; kennit, known; latyn, let or set; mac, make; mad, made; persoun, parson; quere, choir; sodene, sudan, subdean; takyn, token, taken; thir, these; tyil, to.

the bishopric of William Lauder, it must really have been written before 1426. It is likely that "xxxiiij" is a misreading for "xxiiij," thus making the true date 20th October, 1424. If, as is usually understood, the whole of the subdean's lands of Deanside were situated on the south side of Rottenrow, there is a further misprint of "north" for "south." Effect being given to these corrections it appears that in 1424 an acre of land fronting Rottenrow, and worth 6s. 8d. yearly, was sold to a burgess for the erection thereon of a sufficient tenement within a year, and it was stipulated that half of the causeway in front was to be formed and maintained by him. Such conditions are usual in the laying out of building ground at the present day, and it is to be assumed that the subdean or his feuars, as owners of land on the north side of Rottenrow, would be responsible for the other half of the causeway. As indicating the state of possession of ground in this quarter, it is noticed that, in the year 1425, the owner of a tenement on the north side of Rottenrow who had fallen into arrear with his annual payments, resigned his property to the subdean, under reservation to himself and spouse of the inner garden, bushes and pertinents, during their lifetime.⁶

From the many transfers and other deeds relating to Glasgow properties, the particulars of which are accessible in printed volumes, it may be gathered that besides the canons occupying their manses and the vicars of the choir lodged in their common building, the other vicars and clergy dwelling in the city had their residences mainly in Rottenrow, Drygate and other places in the vicinity of the cathedral.⁷ The originals

⁶ *Lib. Coll.* etc., p. 243.

⁷ A few of these may be mentioned. On 16th November, 1410, it was agreed between Sir Thomas Merschell, perpetual vicar of Kilbirnie, and John Leiche, burgess, that the vicar should have part of a tenement lying opposite the gate of the subdean, between the Gyrburne and the street called Dreggate.

of most of these printed documents came into the possession of the University at the time of the Reformation, in connection with the transfer of church property to that body, but several are preserved in the city's archives. Of the latter collection the earliest in date is a notarial instrument which may be described as illustrative of its class. William Wischart, vicar of the church of Govan, was proprietor of a tenement and two roods of land, with an adjoining yard, lying on the north side of Ratounraw and east side of a tenement belonging to Sir James Cameron, another priest. By the old burgh laws an heir in heritage could not dispose of it without consent of the next heir, and Wischart had apparently acquired his property by inheritance, as his brother and heir formally consented to its sale. It is narrated in the notarial instrument that, on 13th April, 1434, in presence of a notary public and witnesses, Wyschart, with consent of his brother, sold the tenement to Mr. Patrick Leche, vicar of the church of Dundonald, at the price of 20 merks Scots, and the seller caused John Wischart, a bailie of the city, to give the purchaser sasine or possession of the property. These proceedings, part of which had taken

On 14th June of the same year a burgess sold to John of Dalgles, a vicar serving in the choir, a tenement and ground containing presumably four particates (misprinted "carucatas") or roods, on the south side of "Ratounraw," between the land of Jonet Pyd on the east and the subdean's lands of Deanside on the west. On 9th February, 1417-8, it was agreed between Sir John of Dalgles and Sir Roger Schort, priests, and John Broun, cleric, that Sir Roger should have a manse in the street of Ratounraw, between the land of Sir John on the east and a yard of Sir Roger in Deanside on the west. On the death of Sir John Schort, his uncle, Broun was to have a chamber in the yard, and on the death of Sir Roger he was to inherit the manse. On 22nd March, 1430-1, Sir John of Hawyk, priest, perpetual vicar of the church of Dunlop, gave to John Yonge, his nephew or grandson (*nepoti*), his tenement lying near the Stablegreen, on the west side of the street, between that green on the north and the tenement of Sir Thomas Merschell, priest, vicar of Kilbirnie, on the south, in which tenement Sir Thomas then dwelt. On 6th October, 1524, Mr. James Houstone, subdean, resigned several annualrents in favour of the vicars of the choir, and in return was vested in the tenement and place called the Aulde Pedagog, on the south side of Ratounraw. (*Lib. Coll. etc.*, pp. 237-8, 246, 260.)

place in the cathedral, having been completed, John of Hawyk, priest and notary, set down the particulars in the notarial instrument, which he authenticated with his signature and sign, and to which, for greater security, the seal of the official of Glasgow was appended.⁸

⁸ *Glas. Chart.* ii. pp. 437-9.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE RIVER CLYDE AND FOREIGN TRADE—THE ELPHINSTONES IN GLASGOW—ELECTION OF BAILIES AND OTHER OFFICERS IN BURGHS

IN conformity with earlier usage a statute of James II., passed in 1457, ordains that sailors engaged in merchandise should be freemen of burghs and indwellers within the burgh; and by an Act passed in the reign of James III., on 31st January, 1466-7, it is more specifically provided that none of the king's lieges should sail or pass with merchandise for trading purposes, furth of the realm, except freemen of the merchant class dwelling within burgh. But stringent conditions were imposed with the view of ensuring that those engaged in foreign trade should be financially able to implement their engagements.¹ Though the Scottish shipping ports at this time were still chiefly on the east coast and the trade with Flanders was far in advance of that in any other quarter, some share of shipping activity was manifesting itself in the Clyde estuary before the end of James the Third's reign. This is shown by a Precept of James IV., in 1490, whereby he confirmed an undated decree by the Privy Council, in his father's time, ordaining that all manner of ships, strangers and others, should come to the king's free burghs, such as Dumbarton, Glasgow, Ayr, Irvine, Wigtown, Kirkcudbright and Renfrew, and there make merchandise, strangers being

¹ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. pp. 26, 30, 31.



JAMES III.



required to buy merchandise only at free burghs, and to pay their duties and customs there.²

Notwithstanding its inland position and the incommodious state of the river for miles below its site,³ Glasgow was not content to confine its seaward enterprise to traffic in salmon and herrings, but was ready to compete with its neighbours for a share of foreign trade. With four burghs having an interest in the narrow part of the river between Rutherglen and the eastern bounds of Dumbarton there was need for careful diplomacy if seaboard advantages were to be equally distributed, and a few isolated particulars of such negotiations have been preserved. The liberties of the burgh of Renfrew, embracing its shire, took in both sides of the river, and accordingly between it and Dumbarton arrangements connected with both land and water required consideration. To provide for the settlement of questions likely to arise, twelve representatives from each burgh met in the kirk of St. Patrick (Kilpatrick), on 29th August, 1424, and resolved that for the maintenance of friendship, six persons from each burgh, making twelve in all, with an oversman to be chosen alternately by the one and the other, should decide all complaints that might be made. Anything that might happen, either by sea or land, which it was not in the power of this body to determine, was to be referred to the quarter where the earliest competent decision could be got. It was also agreed that no one in the burghs should forestall or buy within the shire or freedom of the other without obtaining

² *Lanark and Renfrew*, pp. 188-9; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 87-88.

³ The unnavigable condition of the river Clyde at Glasgow is shown by the provisions of an agreement dated 14th May, 1507, whereby Thomas Tayt, burgess of Ayr, sold to the archbishop a quantity of lead, part of which he undertook to deliver either at the burgh of Renfrew, or at the shallow of Govan if his ship could be conveniently brought to the latter place (*Diocesan Reg. Prot.* No. 233). The editors of the Register suggest that the lead may have been destined for the south transept of the Cathedral which the archbishop began but did not live to complete (*Ibid.* i. p. 16).

the requisite permission, but that all should intercommune with each other within their burghs to buy and sell freely and in good neighbourhood. Five years later questions arose between the burghs as to certain freedoms and fishings, and these were settled by an assize which met at Glasgow on 22nd November, 1429, in presence of the great chamberlain of Scotland, who pronounced his decree on 3rd January, thereafter. Renfrew was found to be in possession of fishings called the Sand-orde and of the midstream of the Water of Clyde, and also to have the custom and anchorage of the river to a place called the Black-stane. Below that point the profit was to be divided between the burghs.⁴

The agreement of 1424, was still operative a hundred years later, and at a meeting of six representatives from each burgh, held in the parish kirk of Kilpatrick, on 18th May, 1524, the procedure thereby prescribed was observed. At that meeting Renfrew complained that Dumbarton had made a "band and confederatione" with the city of Glasgow without their consent, and that a bailie of Dumbarton had intromitted with the custom and toll of a French ship within their bounds and freedom.⁵ The "band and confederatione" here referred to has not been conclusively identified, but it may have been the "mutuall indenture," not now extant but said to have been entered into in 1499, between Glasgow and Dumbarton, for the maintenance and defence of each other's privileges, "condiscending to ane equal entres of the river Clyde, neither of them pretendand priviledge nor prerogative over the other."⁶

The contract of 1424 is valuable as indicating how by friendly negotiations facilities were afforded for carrying on trade between communities to their mutual advantage, notwith-

⁴ *Lanark and Renfrew*, pp. 282-4.

⁵ *Irving's History of Dumbartonshire* (1857) pp. 155-7.

⁶ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 62.

standing the restrictions imposed by early burghal legislation. It is difficult to understand how the hard and fast rule of giving each burgh exclusive privileges within the limited area of its own freedom could ever bear the strain of actual practice, and it is probably safe to assume that arrangements similar to those agreed upon by Renfrew and Dumbarton were, either by tacit implication or express contract, in general operation throughout the country. With regard to Glasgow its interests were so far protected by the royal charters and precepts which the bishops, through their influence as state officials and otherwise, were able to procure, but even here, in addition to the contract of 1499, there is trace of an earlier arrangement between the city and the burgh of Dumbarton with reference to their respective rights in the river Clyde.

Without superseding the system of cross-country transport, practised between the city and Linlithgow port on the east and Irvine harbour on the west,⁷ Glasgow merchants were from early times in the habit of dealing both in imports and exports by meeting ships at landing places in the Firth and, after concluding purchases or sales, transferring cargo from or to small boats of draught suited for passage along the shallow water between these landing places and the city. In the later stages of traffic so conducted some city merchants had ships of their own engaged in foreign trade, but in the fifteenth century, when we first have any references to the subject, the trading vessels belonged to foreigners. In the year 1469 Glasgow's representatives bought a quantity of wine out of a Frenchman's ship, but the magistrates and community of Dumbarton interfered and forcibly stopped the completion of the transaction. Thereupon Bishop Andrew and the magistrates and community of Glasgow summoned

⁷ *Antea*, pp. 177-80.

the Dumbarton authorities before the Lords Auditors of Causes and Complaints, who, after investigation, found that Glasgow, as "the first byars of the wyne," had been wronged, and Dumbarton was ordained to desist from such interference in future, and to be in the meantime punished, at the will of the sovereign, for the injury done by its representatives. This decision was arrived at after examination not only of charters and evidents but also of "the instrumentis and indenturis of baith the partiis," from which it may be inferred that at that time there was in existence a contract between the two burghs regulating the mode of procedure in the purchase of imports. With the authoritative pronouncement of the Lords Auditors on their respective rights, any need for further contention between Glasgow and Dumbarton on sea questions must have been removed for the time, though eventually, in consequence of changes in views or circumstances, the "band and confederatione" complained of by Renfrew, in 1524, may have introduced modifications, the full terms of which cannot now be definitely ascertained.⁸

John M'Ure asserts that "the first promoter and propagator of trade in this city was William Elphingston, a younger brother of the noble family of Elphingston," who took up his abode in Glasgow in the reign of James I., and became a merchant; and Gibson, in his *History of Glasgow*, published in 1777, adopts the statement, and adds that the trade which he promoted was in all probability the curing and exporting of salmon. On the authority, apparently, of George Crawford,⁹ M'Ure states that the wife of William Elphingstone was Margaret Douglas of the house of Mains in Dumbartonshire, and that this couple were the parents of William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen and founder of

⁸ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 54. The *River Clyde*, pp. 11-13, and authorities there cited.

⁹ *Officers of State*, (1726), p. 47.



BISHOP ELPHINSTONE.



the University in that city.¹⁰ What authority there was for the trade story cannot be traced, but there is no doubt that Bishop Elphinstone's father, also named William, was a churchman, a canon of Glasgow cathedral from 1451 to 1483, holding the offices of dean of faculty in 1468, prebendary of Ancrum in 1479, and archdeacon of Teviotdale in 1482. He died in 1486. Bishop Elphinstone is believed to have been born in Glasgow in 1431; he matriculated at Glasgow college in 1457, took his Bachelor's degree in 1459, was a regent in the University in 1465, and its rector in 1474; and between the years 1471 and 1477 he acted as official of the diocese of Glasgow. Of all the written proceedings of the courts of the official only a single leaf has been preserved, and it embraces the record of the part of two days' procedure in court, in 1475, containing the name of William Elphinstone as the presiding judge.¹ On his being appointed official of Lothian, in 1478, Elphinstone's more intimate connection with Glasgow was terminated, but the chief events of his great career were still to come. One of the most useful services rendered by the bishop to national progress was the part he took in the introduction of the art of printing into Scotland, he having obtained a grant of exclusive privileges in favour of Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar, two burgesses of Edinburgh, in 1507.

If the William Elphinstone whom M'Ure introduces in the reign of James I. was a real personage, he may have been the ancestor of the Elphinstones of Gorbals, as the earliest rentaller traced in the possession of these lands bore that name, and his forebears must have been rentallers for an unknown period prior to 1520. About that time the name of Elphinstone was common in Glasgow, and, as will be afterwards noticed, one John Elphinstone, in the year 1508, obtained

¹⁰ M'Ure's *History of Glasgow*, p. 93; Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, p. 203.

¹ *Glasgow Protocols*, vol. v. pp. xi, xii.

royal authority to erect and occupy a fortified building in the High Street of Glasgow.²

Various statutes of James III., on the lines of those of his immediate predecessor and already referred to,³ were passed for advancing the internal welfare of the burghs, and it seems there was room for improvement in the mode of electing the magistrates and other officers, disturbances being apt to arise when large bodies of the citizens were assembled to choose their rulers at the annual period of election. By Act of Parliament dated 20th November, 1469, it was, for avoidance of the great trouble and contention which yearly occurred at the elections, "throw multitud and clamor of communis sympil personis," enacted that no officers or council should be continued more than a year, that the old council should choose the new, that the new and old councils should choose the alderman, bailies, dean of guild, and other officers, and that each craft should choose one of its number to have a voice in the election of such officers. The requirement for a new council yearly was modified by the provision in an Act dated 9th May, 1474, stipulating for "four worthy persounis" of the old council being continued on the new;⁴ but, as was not uncommon with ordinances of the Scottish legislature neither act was strictly observed. The Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, who had evidence before them from the several burghs, remarked in their Report of 1835, that the simple and uniform plan of election prescribed in 1469 was by no means universally adopted, and that the constitutions of burghs royal, technically denominated their "setts," came to exhibit an endless variety in their details, although, there was scarcely any exception to the "leading

² *Early Scottish History*, pp. 258-66; *Hunterian Club*, vol. xv. pp. iii-xiii; *Medieval Glasgow*, pp. 116-26.

³ *Antea*, p. 203.

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 35.

principle of what has been usually termed self-election, to the exclusion of any near approach to popular suffrage." It was this prevailing distinction which was referred to in the preamble of the Burgh Reform Act of 1833, where it is stated that the right of electing the common councils and magistrates appears to have been originally in certain large classes of the inhabitants of the burghs, "by the abrogation of which ancient and wholesome usage much loss, inconvenience and discontent have been occasioned and still exist," and it was for redress and prevention of such that the "close system" of election was abolished and the "ancient free constitutions substantially restored." Whatever may have been the mode of election in Glasgow previous to 1469, the new rules, adapted to the city's circumstances, seem to have been followed in most of their essential features.

CHAPTER XXXVII

BISHOPS ANDREW "MUIRHEAD" AND JOHN LAING—UNIVERSITY PRIVILEGES—FRIARS MINORS IN GLASGOW—CHAPELS OF ST. THOMAS AND ST. TENEW—CHAPLAINRIES—FORFEITURE OF UNPRODUCTIVE TENEMENTS

THOUGH Bishop Andrew did not occupy any high office of state he took part in the legislative work of the parliaments which sat between 1464 and 1471; he is said to have been a member of the council of regency appointed after the death of James II., and he served on several important embassies. On 13th July, 1459, the bishop and others had a safe conduct to treat with English commissioners regarding the truce between the kingdoms; he was one of the Scottish commissioners who ratified a fifteen years' treaty of peace at Westminster in 1463; and again, in 1465, he is named as one of the commissioners who negotiated the prorogation of the truce till the year 1519. In 1466-7 the bishop and others, with eighty persons in their company, were authorised to pass between Scotland and England, and four years later a similar safe conduct was granted, but this time the sanctioned retinue was increased to four hundred persons. In 1468 the bishop was on the embassy to Denmark to treat of the marriage between James III. and the Princess Margaret.¹

Besides conferring on the University the jurisdiction specified in his grant of 1461,² it is probable that the bishop

¹ Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 326; Bain's *Calendar*, iv. No. 1301, *et seq.*

² *Antea*, p. 222.



SEAL OF JOHN LAING, BISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1473-82.



used his influence in procuring from James III. the letter confirming the protection and exemptions bestowed by James II. in 1453.³ The confirmatory letter, which recites the love, favour and affection which the king bore towards the University, and his desire that students might increase in number, to the honour of the commonweal and profit of many, was granted under his great seal, at Edinburgh, on 10th December, 1472, and the bishop is the first of ten attesting witnesses. Curiously enough the last witness was John Laing, designated rector of Newlands and king's treasurer, who was destined, within little more than a year, to become bishop of Glasgow.⁴ In the Glasgow *Martyrology* the "obit of Andrew Mureheid, bishop of Glasgow," is given as 20th November, 1473.⁵

From various writings, including a papal bull of provision, dated 28th January, 1473-4, it is ascertained that John Laing was appointed the next bishop, but whether after a capitular election or not is uncertain. At the time of his appointment Laing held the offices of rector of Newlands, treasurer of the king, and clerk of the rolls and register.⁶ He belonged to an Edinburghshire family and possessed property in Edinburgh. By a deed of gift, dated 9th February,

³ *Antea*, p. 221.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 55-57. Simultaneously with the issue of this more formal document, the king addressed to the bishops of his realm a Letter, under his privy seal, exhorting them, in their respective dioceses, not to trouble the rectors, deans of faculties, procurators of nations, regents, masters, beadles, scriveners, stationers, parchment sellers and scholars, incorporated in the university, on the ground of any exactions, collections or taxes whatever, but contrariwise to defend all such persons in the privileges and exemptions granted to them by the king and his father. (*Ibid.* pp. 58-60.)

⁵ *Reg. Episc.*, p. 616.

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 403-4. Newlands, in Peeblesshire, is on the highway from Glasgow to the eastern borders of the diocese. It is likely that Laing was the last rector of Newlands as the benefice was erected into a prebend of the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas at Dalkeith in 1475. (*Origines Parochiales*, i. p. 192.) Discharges by the king to the bishop of his intromissions as treasurer, dated 11th October, 1475, and 3rd February, 1475-6, are recorded in *Reg. Episc.*, pp. 428-9, Nos. 408-9.

1481-2, he gave six stones of wax, annually, for candles to the choir of Glasgow cathedral, to be provided from the rents of two booths in that city.⁷ In 1482, Bishop Laing held the office of chancellor of the kingdom, but he died on 11th January, 1482-3.⁸

It was during Laing's episcopate that a body of Franciscan Friars settled in Glasgow. The Franciscans, so named from their founder, St. Francis, of Assisi, in Italy, were established in 1206, and confirmed by Pope Innocent III., in 1210. They were otherwise known as *Fratres Minores* or Minorites (distinguishing them from the *Fratres Majores* or Friars Preachers), and as Grey Friars, from the colour of their habit. About the year 1415 a branch of the Franciscans adopted certain reforms, calling themselves Observantines, on account of their more strict observance of the founder's rule, and it was the section of the Order holding these views that acquired a residence in Glasgow. A few towns in Scotland had Franciscan settlements in the fourteenth century, but it was not till about the year 1476 that, so far as contemporary records show, members of the Order came to Glasgow. The spot selected for their residence was a short distance west from the High Street, nearly opposite the place of the Friars Preachers, which was on the east side of the street. Access from the High Street was obtained from a lane which acquired the name of Greyfriars Wynd, and is now known as Nicholas Street. The present Shuttle Street was also sometimes called Greyfriars Wynd, and it seems to have formed the eastern

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 427. Within the burgh court of Edinburgh, on 24th November, 1476, in presence of Andrew Hervy, dean of guild, Thomas Mahome, burgh treasurer, and others, George Penycuk, son and heir of George of Penycuk, burgess of Edinburgh, ratified the sale and conveyance which his father and James Creichtoun of Felde had made to John, bishop of Glasgow, of a tenement of land on the north side of the High Street in the burgh of Edinburgh, including the two booths above mentioned. (*Ibid.* No. 411.)

⁸ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 328-9.

boundary of the Friars' grounds. Some particulars regarding the coming of the Friars to Glasgow are ascertained from a charter of James III., dated 21st December, 1479, whereby he confirmed to the Friars Minors of the Observantine Order the sites belonging to them in Edinburgh, St. Andrews and Glasgow.⁹ The Glasgow site is stated to have been gifted by John, bishop of Glasgow, and Mr. Thomas Forsythe, rector of Glasgow; and, as Bishop John's episcopate began in 1473, the Friars must have got possession between that date and 1479. The ground on the west side remained the property of the bishop and rector respectively, and therefore it may be inferred that the site was taken partly from the rectory or parsonage lands. In 1511 the rector of that time, Robert Blacader, gave to the Friars a strip of ground, twenty feet in breadth, and the bishop gave them a further strip, twenty-two feet in breadth, from his lands of Ramshorn. The two strips, with the ends joined together, extended along the western side of the Friars' property, and were stated to be given for enlargement of their monastery (*monasterii*), house and yards.¹⁰

There is very little on record bearing on the history of the Greyfriars in Glasgow. Adhering to their original vow of poverty they do not seem to have possessed lands other than those just referred to, and consequently had few title deeds. Then no contemporary writings are extant affording information on the routine work of either the Black or the Grey Friars in Glasgow, and with regard to the latter the references to transactions in which they were concerned are specially meagre. At the acquisition of ground in 1511 the convent was represented by Friar John Johnson who held office as Warden, and the title to the portion given by the bishop was taken to James Peddegrew, Provincial

⁹ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. No. 1434.

¹⁰ *Diocesan Reg. Prot.* Nos. 560, 565.

of the Order, in name of the Friars Minors. Two years later Johnson, who was still Warden, along with Friar John Tennant, cleric, and Alexander Cottis and Thomas Bawfour, laics, all members of the Glasgow convent, were witnesses to a ceremony which took place at the manse of the cathedral treasurer.¹ This was on 9th April, 1513, and on 4th July following the name of John Akinhede, Observant Friar Minor, occurs.² According to the official statutes of the Order, enacted at Barcelona in 1451, the term Warden (*Gardianus*) is the official title of the head of a convent in which twelve brethren could be comfortably accommodated. If, therefore, in the passage just cited the term Warden was used in its strict sense Glasgow convent must have consisted of at least twelve friars.³

About the chapel of St. Thomas, which is believed to have adjoined that of St. Tenew, a few particulars have been gathered from the *Papal Registers*. On 16th March, 1422-3, Pope Martin V. gave dispensation to David de Hamylton, a bachelor in canon law, "who was of a race of great nobles of the realm of Scotland and a kinsman of Murdac, duke of Albany, governor of the said realm," to hold the deanery of Glasgow and parish church of Cumnock, though he held several other benefices, including the Chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, which was of value not exceeding £10 yearly. Three years later this benefice, still in Hamylton's possession, was called the Chapel, without cure, of St. Thomas the Martyr, without the walls of Glasgow. The expression "without the walls" was apparently used to denote that the chapel was situated beyond the West Port of the city. On 11th March, 1430-1, David de Hamylton is again referred to as holder of the chapel.

¹ *Diocesan Reg. Prot.* No. 632.

² *Ibid.* No. 645.

³ *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. iii. p. 184. The Parson's property, part of which was given to the Friars, embraced the piece of rocky ground called variously Craigmak, Craigmacht or Craignaught, where Glasgow Fair used to be proclaimed, as mentioned *antea*, p. 68.

A letter from Pope Nicholas to the bishop of Glasgow, dated 4th January, 1450-1, desires him to inquire into a petition by Lord Hamilton, asking that the parish church of Hamilton "called from of old Cadzow," should be erected into a collegiate church. If the statements in the petition should be found correct the collegiate church was to be erected as craved, and the chaplainry of St. Thomas, of a value not exceeding four merks yearly was to be included in the endowments. Regarding the chapel of St. Tenew, the *Papal Registers* add little if anything to the meagre information derived from other sources. In July, 1370, there is an entry in the Register bearing that Walter de Roulen, designated "Rector of the chapel of St. Thanen, value £4," was to be confirmed in his possession of the Church of Torbolton, if found qualified.⁴ The reference is not quite explicit, but it seems likely that the chapel of St. Tenew in Glasgow was meant, and if so Roulen is the only one of its rectors whose name has been traced on record.

Towards the end of Bishop Andrew's episcopate and during that of Bishop John several endowments for religious services in the cathedral were obtained. On 29th January, 1472-3, James Douglas of Achincassil, who is perhaps to be identified as an ancestor of the Duke of Queensberry, founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. Cuthbert, on the south side of the nave, and endowed it with annualrents amounting to £10 yearly, payable furth of lands and tenements mainly in Linlithgow and the remainder in Glasgow, one of the latter properties being described as lying near the market cross, on the north side of the tolbooth.⁵ On 10th March, 1476-7, John of Ottirburn, licentiate in decreets and greater sacristan of the church of Glasgow, conveyed to the vicars of the choir,

⁴ *Papal Reg.* vii. pp. 258, 425; ix. p. 38; x. p. 75; iv. p. 86; *antea*, p. 134.

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. Abstract, p. 7, No. 286; ii. p. 461, No. viii; p. 605, No. 3; *The Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xvii. pp. 112-20.

for observance of specified services, his croft lying on the north side of the city, between the subchanter's manse on the east, the yard or orchard of the rector of Glasgow, then held in feu by Richard Gardner, on the west, the end of the yards of the precentor and chancellor, and the manses of the vicars built by Bishop Andrew, on the south, and the common lands of Glasgow, extending to the two crosses, on the north.⁶ On 19th December, 1478, Gilbert Rerik archdeacon, founded a perpetual chaplainry at the altar of St. Michael, the archangel, within the church, behind the great south door to the west, and endowed it with the tenement on the south side of Ratounraw called the Pedagogy; also a contiguous waste tenement acquired from the vicars of the choir. Other two tenements were likewise given, one of them described as lying opposite the subdean's gate, on the south side of Erskine manse and east side of certain stone houses belonging to Glasgow hospital; and the other was situated north of the tenement formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Arthurle and then to the new Pedagogy. It was a condition of this endowment that the chaplain should yearly distribute twenty shillings among thirty poor and needy persons, giving to each either money or meat and drink to the value of eightpence, and that he should maintain and repair the houses and tenements belonging to the chaplainry.⁷

The property above referred to which Gilbert Rerik bought from the vicars of the choir consisted of a tenement which, on account of its unproductive condition, had been forfeited

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* No. 412. To the instrument setting forth this endowment the dean and several of the canons gave their express approval (*Ibid.* No. 413). In the activities of cathedral services the vicars had evidently an important share. Such services, too, seem to have been increasingly valued from a pecuniary point of view, for by a writing dated 5th June, 1480, the dean and canons consented to an augmentation of the stipends or pensions of the vicars, those who formerly got £5 each being in future entitled to receive £10 from the prebendary in whose stall he served (*Ibid.* No. 426).

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 420, 452.

to the vicars by a process which may be described as illustrative of practice in the burgh court at that time.

The old burgh laws contained provisions for the forfeiture of property in default of payment of annualrents, and by the Act which latterly regulated procedure it was ordained that no one pursuing for recovery of a waste and undistrainable tenement, because of the annualrent being in arrear, should be bound to lay waste the land or tenement by presenting at the court of the burgh the doors, windows, and timber or such like, no one being bound to injure himself. The former procedure requiring that mode of action was therefore declared inept, "and as it were condemnit be the wise council of the burghs"; and it was provided that whosoever desired to proceed in burgh for recovery of land or tenement unfruitful, on account of non-payment of the yearly rent, should go to the land or tenement with witnesses and the burgh sergeant or officer, and take earth and stone of the tenement and present it to the bailies at three head courts of the burgh. The stones and earth so presented were then appointed to be placed in a bag, sealed with the bailie's seal, and kept by the pursuer till the fourth head court, when the stone and earth exhibited at the three preceding courts were to be shown to the bailie, and possession of the land sought and given.⁸ Acting in conformity with that law, the provost, John Stewart, with two bailies, held a court on 27th January, 1477-8, when one of the vicars of the choir, for himself and his colleagues, appeared and reported that the tenement in the Ratonraw, above referred to, was destitute of all "bigging and reparacion," so that it could not be distrained for the payment of the annualrent due in respect of it. Wherefore he sought the court to deliver to him earth and stone in default of payment, according to the burgh laws. The application being deemed reasonable, the applicant, with

⁸ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. p. 168.

one of the sergeants of the burgh, was authorised to go to the premises and receive earth and stone of the same before witnesses, after the custom of the city in such matters. All this having been done the applicant reported the procedure to the court. At the second head court, held on 7th April, 1478, the vicar reappeared and renewed his application, which was granted, and a similar course of procedure was adopted and reported to the third head court. At that court, held on 13th October, 1478, the same formalities were gone through, and at the fourth head court, held on 26th January, 1478-9, another vicar, whose authority to represent his colleagues was known, appeared and recited the procedure which had been taken on the three previous occasions, and the fact that proclamation had been made, at the market cross of the city, warning the lawful heritors or heirs to make payment of the annualrent then due. He thereupon claimed the legal remedy. Upon this he was removed, the court was warded, and the application was considered, after which the applicant was called in, and Sir John Michelson, the town clerk, judicially instructed the dempster to give decree sustaining the claim of the vicars.⁹

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 66-71.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

KINGS JAMES III. AND IV.—BISHOPS CARMICHAEL AND
BLACADER—ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GLASGOW—GRANT OF
FREE TRON—BURGH PRIVILEGES—LOLLARDS OF KYLE

FOR several years after the truce of 1464, in the negotiations for which the bishop of Glasgow had been a party, there was no serious misunderstanding between England and this country, though there were occasional border disturbances, and the truce was renewed in 1473. But from the year 1479 till the end of his reign King James and his government were never long free from domestic troubles and these were often accompanied by international quarrels. The king's partiality for seclusion and for the society of favourites who shared his fine-art sympathies was repugnant to most members of the nobility, who preferred to associate with the king's two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, both of whom were noted for their knightly accomplishments. In 1481 hostilities were resumed with England, both by sea and land, next year a large Scottish army was raised for defence of the kingdom against "the revare Edward, calland himself king of England," and at this time Albany joined himself with his country's enemies. The year 1482 witnessed the triumph of the disaffected nobles, the Lauder bridge tragedy, and the recapture by the English of the castle and town of Berwick, one of this country's earliest and most flourishing burghs, which thus finally passed from the hands of the Scots. A three years'

truce with England, entered into in 1484, had not expired when James met his death, after the skirmish at Sauchieburn, in June, 1487. In the civil war thus brought to a crisis the bishop of Glasgow was on the side of the insurgents, and took part in the futile negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

During the reign of James III. parliaments were held with great regularity and many useful measures were passed. Some of these have already been referred to, such as the Act of 1469, relating to elections in burghs. In 1487 it was ratified and ordered to be observed, so that elections might result in the choice of the best and worthiest inhabitants, not through partiality or mastership, "quhilk is undoing of the borowis whare mastershippis and requestis cummis."¹ At the same time the Act was passed which is usually regarded as the first statutory constitution of the Convention of Burghs,² and as such was one of the few Acts which escaped the wholesale repeal carried through in 1908. In authorising an embassy of thirty persons to England regarding marriages of the King and his son Prince James, it was arranged about the expenses which amounted to £250, that £100 should be laid on the prelates, £100 on the barons and the remaining £50 on the burghs.³ One sixth was the usual proportion borne by the burghs in national taxation, the shares payable by the several communities being apportioned by the Convention.⁴

In the parliament held on 16th October, 1488, a special effort was made for the suppression of theft, robbery and other "enormities," which were at that time grievously prevalent, by dividing the kingdom into districts over which were placed various earls and barons to whom full authority was entrusted

¹ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, ii. p. 43.

² *Ibid.* p. 44. By this Act commissioners of all burghs, both south and north of the Forth, were appointed to meet yearly to commune and treat upon the welfare of merchants, good rule and common profit of the burghs.

³ *Ibid.* p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 109, 161.



JAMES IV.

during the king's minority. The district within which Glasgow was situated was assigned to the Earl of Lennox, Lord Lyle and Matthew Stewart, the earl's eldest son.⁵ But within a few months after this Act was passed these three guardians of order broke into open revolt against the king's government. Lyle occupied the strong fortress of Dumbarton, while Lennox and his son raised their vassals and garrisoned their castles and strongholds, including Crookston, near Paisley, and Duchal, in the parish of Kilmacolm. In the course of the military movements for suppressing this insurrection, a result which was speedily effected, Glasgow comes frequently into notice. On 18th July, 1489, the king was in Glasgow on his way to the siege of Duchal. In the following October, levies from the west and south were summoned to assemble on Glasgow Moor, and thence, on the 18th of that month, the king proceeded to Dumbarton to press the siege of the castle. On 10th November he was again in Glasgow on his way to Linlithgow. On 23rd November he returned to Dumbarton and left it on 13th December, a few days after its surrender. Other visits of the King to Glasgow are traced by his donations to the poor, to altars and to Friars. Of these the larger sums were usually given to the Friars, as in December, 1488, when he gave £5 "in alms," and on 2nd May, 1489, £10 both to the "Freris of Glescow," not distinguishing between the Preachers and the Friars Minors, the two bodies of friars located in the city.⁶

Glasgow was now coming into greater prominence in national affairs and was beginning to occupy a leading position in its relation to other districts in the West Country. Elevation in ecclesiastical status added to the influence of its archbishop, with whom the King seems always to have been on

⁵ *A.P.S.* 1488 c. 9. ii. p. 208.

⁶ *Lord High Treasurer's Account*, vol. i. See also *Crookston Castle*, by Robert Guy (1909) pp. 36-42.

friendly terms, and between 1491 and 1496 he was on several important embassies, such as to France for renewal of the old alliance and to the court of Spain to negotiate a treaty of friendship as well as to engage in matrimonial speculation. Glasgow likewise provided a serviceable base for incursions against some of the West Islesmen who, notwithstanding their formal submission to royal authority, in 1493-4, continued to give trouble to the government for many years to come.

Preparatory to a military expedition to the Isles, ships and boats were being put in order, and for that purpose iron, timber, and other material, were bought and collected at Glasgow and despatched in boats from the "brig" there to Dumbarton, towards the end of 1494. Thereafter the "lords of the westland, eastland and southland" were summoned to meet the King at Glasgow in April or May, 1495, and there his presence is indicated by an offering of a French crown, valued at 14s., "to the reliquis in Glasgw." Boats carried the guns to Dumbarton, where the king was on 5th May, and on the following day he was at Newark Castle, whence probably he embarked. Returning from this expedition, in which he was accompanied by Sir Andrew Wood, with one of his ships, the King was in Glasgow in the end of June, and he remained there till the middle of the following month, during which period he received a visit from Odonnel, chief of Tyr-connel, in Ulster, who came to renew old family alliances.

In May, 1496, "the preistis of Glasgo" got 40s. when the King seems to have been passing through the city on his way from Ayr to Stirling. There, on 9th June, the sum of 5s. was paid "to the man that brocht the sture fra Glasgo," indicating apparently the gift of a sturgeon for the king's table and perhaps an early example of the liberality of the citizens in distributing the produce of their bounteous river.

Shortly after the death of Bishop Laing, on 11th January,

1482-3, the chapter elected George de Carmichael, who had been for some years treasurer of the cathedral and prebendary of Carnwath. In deeds dated, respectively, 18th February and 22nd March, 1482-3, he is designated elect of Glasgow, but on 13th April Pope Sixtus IV. declared the election to be null and void as being contrary to his reservation of the see. The Pope favoured the translation of Robert Blacader, bishop of Aberdeen, to Glasgow, and this was effected with such expedition that he was consecrated in April or May, 1483. But Carmichael did not relinquish his claims and he is said to have been on a journey to Rome, seeking consecration, when he died in 1484.

In 1472 St. Andrews had been constituted the archiepiscopal and metropolitan see of Scotland, a step which was disapproved of by the bishops of the other sees as well as by the king. To allay contentions which had arisen between the archbishop and Bishop Blacader, the Pope, on 25th May, 1488, exempted the bishop and his diocese from all jurisdiction, visitation and rule of the archbishop during the lifetime of the former. But the see of Glasgow was not satisfied with this temporary favour and its cause was warmly supported by King James IV., who held the honorary dignity of a canon of Glasgow. Letters were despatched by the king urging on the Pope that Glasgow should be raised to a primacy like that of York in the church of England, and in a parliament held on 14th June, 1488-9, it was enacted that for the honour and public good of the realm the see of Glasgow should be erected into an archbishopric with such privileges and dignities as York enjoyed. After further pressure the desired object was attained, and by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII., dated 9th January, 1491-2, Glasgow was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan church, with Blacader as the first archbishop and the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway and Lismore (Argyll) as suffragans. That peace between St. Andrews

and Glasgow was not effected by these changes is shown by the terms of an act of parliament dated 26th June, 1493, whereby it was declared that if the two archbishops did not cease their strife and stop litigation in the court of Rome, the King would command his lieges not to pay them the ferms, rents and maills required for the prosecution of such pleas, a threat which probably secured ostensible compliance for the time.⁷

Before the negotiations in regard to the archbishopric had been fully concluded, King James IV. granted to Bishop Blacader and his successors a charter confirming and extending the liberties and privileges of the see. In the preliminary narrative of the charter, which is dated 4th January 1489-90, the King refers to the singular devotion which he bore to the church "wherein we are a canon," and to the favour and love which he had for the bishop "and his renowned chapter, which holds the chief place among the secular colleges of our kingdom." After the confirmation, in general terms, of existing possessions, special reference is made to the baronies of Ancrum, Lilliesleaf and Ashkirk, in the shires of Roxburgh and Selkirk, and to those of Stobo and Edilston in Peeblesshire, and then comes the grant of a free tron, introduced by words which indicated uncertainty as to whether that privilege had not been already conferred.

At that time merchandise liable to the great custom, payable to the crown, could not be legally exported without a cocket, being a certificate under the seal of the proper officer that the dues had been settled. Lords of regality who owned burghs of export had generally a grant of cocket, entitling them to export merchandise duty free. So far as shown by any extant writing the bishops of Glasgow do not appear to have previously had this privilege, but by the charter of 1489-90

⁷ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 329-36, and authorities cited; *Early Glasgow*, pp. 51-55.



SEAL OF ROBERT BLACADER, WHEN BISHOP OF GLASGOW.



HIS SEAL WHEN ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.



the bishop and his successors were authorised to have a free tron in the city of Glasgow and to appoint a troner of the customs and clerk of the cocket, in order that all merchandise and goods pertaining to the citizens and tenants of the barony might be there troned, weighed and customed. The bishops were to possess, for their own use and profit, the customs collected by their officers and factors, and on payment of such dues cockets were to be issued, entitling the citizens and tenants to be free of exaction or payment of all other customs on their goods, in all other towns, ports and places within the kingdom.⁸ The first tron or weighing place within the city was erected a little to the west of the market cross, on the south side of the street at one time known as St. Tenewis-gait, but the name of which, after the erection of the tron, was changed to Tron-gait. About forty years later an adjoining site was occupied by the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne, which in its turn was replaced by the Tron Church; and by this adherence to existing nomenclature the old weighing place has become one of the best known landmarks in the city.

From a decree pronounced by the Lords Auditors on 10th December, 1494, it seems that the customs were rentalled by a "custumar" who, in consideration of a yearly rent payable to the archbishop, was authorised to collect the amount for his own behoof. At that time Allan Stewart was the rentaller, but under an arrangement to which he was a consentor the archbishop had assigned to his brother, Sir Patrick Blacader of Tulliallan, knight, the half of the customs from 1st December, 1493, and during the subsistence of this let the rentaller was only entitled to his own half. But as he had collected the

⁸ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 79-87. By a precept and warrant dated 20th October, 1490 (*Ib.* pp. 87, 88), King James IV. ratified the decret by James III. (*antea*, p. 244), requiring all trading ships to be brought to such burghs with their merchandise and there to "pay their dewties and take cockets."

whole customs for the past year he was ordained to pay Sir Patrick £10, under deduction of 40s. paid for rent and 32s. "for a rud of calsay making."⁹

It is ascertained from an entry in the Inventory of City Writs, compiled in 1696, that on 17th January, 1491-2, King James addressed a letter to the Provost and Bailies intimating the release of his former "recognitione" and granting them license to "use and occupy their freedom as they did of befor."¹⁰ Here, presumably, was opportunity for learning something of the direct relationship subsisting between the King and the burgh, the bishop as lord of the regality and the usual intermediary being apparently no party to the arrangement; but unfortunately the letter, like so many important documents extant in 1696 but now gone, has disappeared. The term "recognitione" indicates that the burgh had, for some reason, been deprived of certain possessions or privileges, but whatever may have been the nature or extent of the temporary forfeiture, the magistrates were fully restored to their former condition.¹

The persecutions which arose after the death of John Wycliffe, the English Reformer, in 1380, drove many of his adherents into exile. Some of them, coming to the western parts of Scotland, settled in Ayrshire and obtained the name of the Lollards of Kyle. Their tenets were obnoxious to the ruling classes, both civil and ecclesiastical, and it is probable that Wyntoun voiced the general opinion when, in his metrical

⁹ *Acta Dominorum Auditorum*, p. 197. The last item is interesting as showing that the upkeep of the causeway was a charge on the customs.

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 88. See another direct grant, *antea*, p. 168.

¹ Between the municipal year 1486-7, when Robert Stewart was provost, and the year 1491-2 when Andrew Otterburn held that office, the line of Stewarts (of different families perhaps) was broken for the first time. The precise time and reason of the change are not known, but it is not unlikely that the provost was implicated in the Lennox revolt of 1488-9, bringing about the "recognitione" referred to in the text (*Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 475).

Chronicle, he commends Robert Duke of Albany, governor of the kingdom, for maintaining that attitude :

“ He was a constant Catholike,
All Lollards he hatyt, and Hereticke.” ²

It was during this governor's administration that James Resby, the first martyr of the Reformed religion, was committed to the flames at Perth, for alleged heresy, in the year 1406-7. John Knox commences his *History of the Reformation in Scotland* by referring to an unnamed person who, as mentioned in the Scrolls or Register of Glasgow, was burnt for heresy, in the year 1422. If correctly reported this event occurred during the governorship of Duke Murdoch and William Lauder's episcopate. King James I. continued the efforts for repressing the new doctrines, as by an act of parliament, passed on 12th March, 1424, “ anentis heretikis and Lollardis,” it was ordained “ that ilk bischop sall ger inquiry be the Inquisicione of Heresy, quhar ony sik beis fundyne, ande at thai be punyst as Lawe of Halykirk requiris : Ande, gif it misteris, that secular power be callyt tharto in suppowale and helping of Halykirk.” ³ The machinery for preventing the spread of independent opinion included the appointment of a dignified churchman as Inquisitor of Heresy, but no connected record of procedure has been preserved. The “ Scrolls and Register of Glasgow ” to which Knox refers are supposed to be the records of the Official of Glasgow, not now extant.⁴ A deed recorded in “ the books of the acts of the Official of Glasgow ” is referred to in an instrument dated 27th July, 1506.⁵ These books seem to belong to the series to which Knox had access in Glasgow subsequent to the Reformation and consequently they had lost the chance of being preserved by the archbishop along with the other muniments which

² Book ix. lines 2773-4.

³ *A.P.S.* ii. p. 7, c. 3.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* vol. v. pp. xi. xii.

⁵ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 189.

he took to France. From the Register of 1494 Knox supplied details of proceedings against thirty persons in Ayrshire whom Archbishop Blacader had summoned before the king and his council, but no conviction seems to have followed at that time.⁶

⁶ *History of Reformation*, i. pp. 6-11; 494-500. Against two of the persons summoned in 1494, "George Campbell of Sesnok and John Campbell in Newmylms," a charge of heresy was depending on 9th March, 1503-4, on which date the archbishop declared that he was ready to deliver a copy of the attestations produced in support of the case (*Diocesan Reg. Prot.* No. 66). But again no decision seems to have been reached.

CHAPTER XXXIX

LEPER HOSPITAL AND CHAPEL AND THEIR ENDOWMENTS— ENDOWMENTS OF OTHER CHAPLAINRIES—GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

It is believed that the disease of leprosy prevailed in nearly every district of Europe from the tenth to the sixteenth century, after which latter period it gradually disappeared. In his work *On Leprosy and Leper Hospitals in Scotland and England*.¹ Sir James Y. Simpson remarks that "laws were enacted by Princes and Courts to arrest its diffusion, the Pope issued Bulls with regard to the ecclesiastical separation and rights of the affected, a particular order of knighthood was instituted to watch over the sick, and leper hospitals or lazaret-houses were everywhere instituted to receive the victims of the disease."² As previously mentioned³ Joceline of Furness, writing in the twelfth century, relates that St. Kentigern cleansed lepers in the city of Glasgow, and that at his tomb lepers were likewise healed. It may thus be inferred that from the earliest times the bishops exercised due supervision and care over the sufferers in their district, and after the constitution of the burgh such attention was imposed as a legal obligation. By an old burgh law it was provided that those afflicted with leprosy who could sustain themselves should be put into the hospital of the burgh and for those in poverty the burgesses.

¹ *Archaeological Essays*, ii. pp. 1-184.

² *Ibid.* p. 3.

³ *Antea*, p. 128.

were to gather money for their sustenance and clothing. Another act refers to the collection of alms "for the sustenance of lepers in a proper place outwith the burgh," it having been provided that lepers were not entitled to go from door to door but might "sit at the toune end" and ask alms from those entering or leaving the burgh.⁴ In the reign of King James I. parliament ordained that lepers, though permitted to enter burghs on certain occasions, should not be allowed to ask alms except "at their awin hospitale and at the porte of the toune and uther places outewith the borowis."⁵ From these references in the old laws it would appear that hospitals for the reception of lepers were usual adjuncts of royal burghs.

There is little doubt that, either in conformity with their traditional observances or in compliance with the statutory enactments above alluded to, the Bishops of Glasgow provided accommodation for the lepers of their burgh. Gorbals, on the south side of the river Clyde, formed part of the Govan lands and its position outside the town's gates complied with the necessary requirements of a site. A bridge over the Clyde existed before the end of the thirteenth century, and it is possible that St. Ninian's hospital, placed only a few yards beyond its south end, would then be in use.⁶ A papal bull,

⁴ *Ancient Laws and Customs*, i. pp. 28, 72.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. p. 14.

⁶ The tradition current in M'Ure's time and narrated in his *History of Glasgow* (1830 Edition, p. 52), to the effect that Lady Lochow founded and endowed the hospital, receives no support from extant records and some of its historical inaccuracies are apparent. That this lady acquired the lands on which Bridgegate is situated and also St. Ninian's Croft adjoining the hospital is a purely imaginative story, based perhaps on knowledge that the hospital drew revenues from Bridgegate properties and that the name of the croft was the same as that of the hospital. But there is nothing to indicate Lady Lochow's connection with either of these sites, any revenues from Bridgegate properties, traced to their source, having been derived from other donors, and St. Ninian's Croft having remained with the owners of the barony till near the end of the eighteenth century. If she was really one of the hospital's benefactors, her gifts must have been bestowed, not in 1350, the date given by M'Ure, but in her own time, about a century later, and whatever she gave is now beyond identity.

issued by Alexander III. in the latter half of the twelfth century, appointed every leper-house to be provided with its own churchyard, chapel and ecclesiastics.⁷ A cemetery adjoined the Gorbals hospital and there was a vacant space in front towards the river. Hospital and grounds were thus close by and on the east side of the thoroughfare which then led southwards in the line of the modern Main Street.

A chapel in connection with the hospital, but situated about a hundred yards farther south, where the thoroughfare just mentioned joined Rutherglen Lane, was built by William Steward, a canon of the cathedral, a few years previous to 1494, in which year he endowed a chaplainry with a tenement on the south side of Bridgegate and various annualrents payable from properties in the city ; but whether this was the first chapel of the hospital or one to replace an older building has not been ascertained. Canon Steward was prebendary of Killearn and rector of Glassford, and by his charter of endowment, dated 31st May, 1494, he provided that on the anniversary of his death twenty-four poor scholars were to assemble in the chapel and celebrate certain services for which one penny was to be paid to each, and twelve pennies were to be given to the lepers. The inmates of the hospital were to ring the chapel bell for the *Salve Regina* every night and to pray in the chapel for their benefactors. As the foundation charter is not extant the terms of the chaplain's appointment are not known, but in 1494 the chaplain was master of the Grammar School, and by the endowment charter it was provided that he should, after the founder's death, commend him every night to all the scholars before they departed, causing them to pray devoutly for his soul and the souls of all the faithful dead. From the terms of this provision as well as of that about the twenty-four poor scholars, it seems to have been intended that

⁷ Simpson's *Archaeological Essays*, ii. pp. 3, 22.

the chaplainry should belong to the master of the Grammar School for the time, *ex officio*.⁸

Endowments of the hospital itself are traced to a slightly earlier date than those of the chapel. On 30th June, 1485, all the men and women lepers dwelling in the hospital appointed John Elphynston, burgess and citizen of Glasgow, their procurator, with authority to receive sasine of an annualrent of 20s. payable furth of a tenement of George Huchonson, situated on the west side of the High Street and adjoining a tenement of the master of the Grammar School on the north. This annualrent had been given, in pure alms, by Thomas Huchonson, burgess and citizen of Glasgow, son and heir of George Huchonson, with consent of his father, for the poor and leprous persons, male as well as female, dwelling in the hospital, they making earnest supplications in their daily prayers for the souls of the donor and his relatives. A gift of 12d, yearly, for similar purposes was made by Robert Adamson, burgess, on 16th August, 1491, and in the document constituting the gift an interesting reference is made to the Chapel of St. Ninian as then "newly built," thus confirming the statement in the charter of 1494 just referred to.⁹

As the hospital was situated close to the city's southern thoroughfare the inmates were accustomed to receive casual donations from passers-by, while others who used the roads and bridge with greater regularity gave permanent endowments. The monks of Paisley contributed six bolls of meal

⁸ *Reg. Episc.* No. 469. Father Innes states that to this charter were appended the seals of (1) the archbishop, (2) the chapter, (3) Martin Wan, chancellor, and (4) William Steward, the granter. Both hospital and chapel were dedicated to St. Ninian, who was the favourite patron saint of such institutions. See Dr. George Neilson's remarks on this subject in the *Scottish Antiquary*, vol. xiii. pp. 53, 54.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 465-73; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1876. Out of an annualrent of 8s. payable from a rig of land in St. Tenew's Croft, Michael Flemyng, a canon of Glasgow and prebendary of Ancrum, assigned 5s. yearly, to the poor lepers in the hospital of St. Ninian beyond the bridge (*Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 152).

yearly and the lairds of Mearns two bolls. Other two bolls of meal were yearly delivered by the bishops of Glasgow, and various benefactors in the city gave annualrents from their properties.¹⁰ One of the notable donations of a casual nature was made in September 1497, on the occasion of King James IV. passing from Kilmarnock to Glasgow, there being then two shillings given "to the seke folk at the brig of Glasgo, be the Kingis command."¹ Before leaving for Stirling on 14th September, the King gave £3 "to say thre trentalis of messis in Glasgo" and 3s. "to the pur folk in Glasgo." Journeying in the opposite direction from Stirling to Ayr, the king had on 21st February, 1497-8, given 2s. at the town end of Stirling "to the seke folk in the grantgore" and on the following day he gave the like sum "to the seke folk in the grantgore, at the toune end of Glasgo," 14s. to the Blackfriars and £3 to the priests in Glasgow.²

The consent of Martin Wan, the cathedral chancellor, to the charter of 1494, as indicated by the appending of his seal, was probably given for such right as he had to the oversight and government of the Grammar School, the master of

¹⁰ See Rentals in *Glasg. Rec.* ii. p. 293; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 625-6.

¹ *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, i. pp. 356-7.

² *Ibid.* p. 378. The "toune end" here referred to seems to be the north entrance to the city though the hospital which at one time stood there is not known to have been erected till a few years later.

Sir James Y. Simpson's "Antiquarian Notices of Syphilis in Scotland" contained in his *Archaeological Essays*, ii. pp. 301-44, may be referred to for particulars regarding the "grantgore" malady and its first appearance in Glasgow and other towns in 1497. In 1600 Glasgow kirk session requested the magistrates "to consult the chirurgions how the infectious distemper of glengore could be removed from the city" (*Ib.* pp. 316, 322). On 3rd May, 1600, the town council resolved to take "tryall of the inhabitantis anent the greit suspicioune of sindry persones infectit with the glengoir, quhilk, gif it be nocht preventit, will endanger the haille towne." All the "chyrurgianes" were warned to attend a meeting to advise on the subject (*Glas. Rec.* i. p. 206); and on 6th August, seemingly as a result of the conference, money was given "to a man for bigging a lodge, without the Stablegreen port, to the women that hath the glengorr" (*Collections on the Life of Mr. David Weems*—Maitland Club—p. 42).

which was then the chaplain of the Leper Hospital. Within four months after the date of the charter the chancellor lodged with the archbishop a complaint that David Dune, a priest and master of arts, residing in the city, had set himself to the teaching and instructing of scholars in grammar and of youths in the elements of learning, within the city and university of Glasgow, of himself and independently, openly and publicly, "without any licence from the chancellor, nay, in his despite and against his will, was publicly engaged in it." Sitting in judgment, in the chapter house of the metropolitan church, on 13th September, 1494, the archbishop, with advice of his chapter and of the rector and clerks of the university, decided that Dune ought not to keep a grammar school, or teach and instruct scholars in grammar or youths in boyish studies, without the special licence of the chancellor.³ In these proceedings the chancellor had pleaded that according to the statutes and usage of the church of Glasgow, and privileges of the dean and chapter, confirmed by apostolic authority, he and his predecessors had been in the peaceable possession of the appointing and removing of the master of the grammar school, without interruption and beyond the memory of man.⁴ But in this claim the town council, if they had been consulted, would probably not have concurred without some qualification, as was shown by the position they took up, fourteen years later, when Martin Rede, by virtue of his office of chancellor-

³ It was only two years after this time that the well known Scots act of 1496 was passed, whereby barons and freeholders were required to put their eldest sons and heirs, from eight or nine years, to the schools, and keep them at the Grammar Schools till they were competently founded in "perfyte Latyne." Thereafter the pupils were to remain three years at the schools of art and "jure," one of the chief objects aimed at, in those days of heritable jurisdictions, being to ensure that on succeeding to their estates the rising generations of barons and freeholders would have "knowlege and understanding of the lawis, throw the quhilkis justice may reign universalie throw all the realme, sua that thai that ar shereffis or jugsis ordinaris may have knalege to do justice." (*A.P.S.* ii. p. 238, 1496, c.3.)

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 89-92.

ship then held by him, appointed John Rede master of the "grammar schools" of the city. On that occasion the provost and other burgesses appeared and asserted that the provost, bailies and community of Glasgow had the right of admitting the masters of the school, and both parties referred to the deed of foundation by Simon Dalgleish in 1460.⁵ Both parties seem to have acquiesced in the appointment made at that time and it is not known that any similar question was again raised between them. So far as extant records show the town council continued to act as patrons of the Grammar School till its management was taken over by the board elected under the Education Act of 1872.

Two years after his endowment of the Leper Hospital, William Stewart, canon, prebendary and rector, founded a perpetual chaplainry in the church of the Preaching Friars and endowed it with annualrents amounting to fifty shillings yearly, besides undertaking to erect, at his own charges, houses for the use of the Friars between the church and their dormitory. The new buildings were to consist of six vaults beneath, above these were to be two halls, two kitchens and four chambers, and in the upper part houses well roofed with tiles or slates. The walls of the building were to correspond in height with the walls of the church and to have on the outside well hewn stones. The rector of the university and the regents of the college of arts, with the provost and bailies of the city, were constituted conservators of the chaplainry and they were enjoined to watch over it and to give heed that it did not decay through neglect of the Friars.⁶

Some additional chaplainries which were about this time founded in the cathedral may here be briefly noticed. On

⁵ *Antea*, p. 223. *Diocesan Reg. Protocol*, No. 342, dated 19th June, 1508.

⁶ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 72-79. This foundation was approved of at a Provincial Chapter of the Friars, held at Edinburgh on 15th June, and the common seal of the city of Glasgow was appended to the duplicate of the document remaining with the Friars, on 6th July, 1487.

1st April, 1486, James Lindesay, dean of the cathedral chapter, founded a chaplainry at the altar of Saints Stephen and Laurence, the martyrs, in the church of Glasgow and behind the High Altar, and endowed it with the lands of Scrogys, in the barony of Stobo, Peeblesshire ; ten merks furth of the lands of Sanct Gelisgrange, Edinburgh ; and 6s. 8d. payable furth of a tenement in the High Street of Glasgow, belonging to Gerard de Brabancia, physician (*medico*). After the founder's death the chapter were to have the patronage. The dean also founded an obit for his anniversary, assigning 40s. to the canons and vicars, out of which the vicars of the choir were to receive £1 6s. 8d. The minor sacristan was to get 2s., the keeper of the church, 3s. for two new wax lights and 12d. for his own services, the curate 18d., the keeper of St. Kentigern's bell 6d. and forty poor persons 8d. each.⁷

Thomas Forsyth, prebendary of Glasgow *primo*, founded a new perpetual chaplainry on the north side of the nave, at the altar of Corpus Christi, then built by him with stones, at the fourth pillar from the Rood loft. The endowments included four merks payable from part of the Tolbooth, opposite the market cross, and extending on the west to the chapel of the Virgin Mary ; 40d. of annualrent furth of the yard behind the chapel on the north ; and 8s. furth of a tenement in Walkergait which belonged to the late John Steuart, provost. Among the other places mentioned are Lady's Yarde on the north side and Eglasamis Croft on the south side of Gallowgait, the hill of Kyncleth on the east side of Suzannys Ryge, a tenement at Barresyet, belonging to Robert Steward, provost, and lands on the west side of High Street belonging to the abbey of Paisley.⁸

Archibald Quhitelaw who acted as secretary of James III. and James IV. from 1463 to 1493, is found in office as archdeacon of Lothian from 1470 to 1494 and as subdean of Glasgow

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 441.

⁸ *Ibid.* No. 446.

from 1488 to 1494, and his obit is entered in Glasgow " Martyrology " ⁹ as 1498. By a charter dated 31st May, 1494, in which he is designated subdean of Glasgow and archdeacon of St. Andrews, within the parts of Lothian, Quhitelaw founded a new chaplainry at the altar of St. John the Baptist on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, at the first pillar from the Rood loft. The endowments consisted of tenements at the " quadrivium " and in Drygate, two acres of land in Denesyde, three roods of land in Provansyde, and several annualrents, including one of 8s. payable from what are described as the lands and yard of Malcolm Renald,¹⁰ lying on the Denesyde, near the monastery of the Friars Minors, between the lands commonly called Ramyshorne on the west and the lands of the late Alan Dunlop on the east. After the founder's death the patronage of the chaplainry was to belong to the chapter and instructions were given to ensure the reputable conduct of the chaplain.¹

⁹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 545.

¹⁰ Several properties at George Street, Deanside Lane and Portland Street are still described in title deeds as part of Rannald or Douglas Yard.

¹ *Reg. Episc.* No. 468 ; *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, pp. 309-10.

CHAPTER XL

FERGUS AISLE IN CATHEDRAL—ROOD SCREEN—CHURCH
OF LITTLE ST. KENTIGERN—ST. NICHOLAS HOSPITAL—
CHURCH OF ST. ROCHE—LINERS OF THE BURGH—
FOREIGN MERCHANDISE

It is believed that the only part of the fabric of the cathedral which Bishop Turnbull left unfinished was the building which projected to the south of the south transept, and no farther progress was made with that building till the time of Archbishop Blacader, who undertook its repair and supplied a vaulting which has been described as the richest example of that kind of work in the cathedral. The carvings are beautiful and numerous, the arms of King James IV. and the archbishop frequently occur, and the initial of Queen Margaret, whom the King married in 1503, is carved, under a royal crown, upon the pillar in the centre of the south wall. The carving in the vault over the north pier represents a human figure lying on a car which has the inscription: "This is the Ile of Car Fergus," an allusion to the first arrival of St. Kentigern in Glasgow and the interment of the body of the holy Fergus in the cemetery which had been hallowed by St. Ninian.¹

Previous to entering on his work at the south transept, Archbishop Blacader had erected the magnificent Rood Screen at the entrance to the choir. This part of the work was prob-

¹ *Cathedral* (1901), pp. 21, 22. Referring to the carvings, Mr. Chalmers remarks that "one of the bosses is a beautiful design illustrating the Five Wounds, and another, of particular interest, represents the King and the three Estates, 'burges, barownys and prelatis.'"



CARVING FROM FERGUS AISLE, GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

ably begun in 1492 and it must have been completed in 1497, the year in which the chaplainry at the altar of the Holy Rood was founded.² The altar itself would be placed on the gallery of the screen, a fuller description of which is subjoined.³

Owing to the rood screen encroaching to a considerable extent on the floor of the choir a new arrangement of the stalls was necessary and in connection with these alterations an agreement was entered into with Michael Waghorn, wright, for the making of the timber canopies. The agreement, dated 8th January, 1506-7, is written in the vernacular, and being, with its detailed description of the work, of special interest as a rare specimen of such writings, is given below.⁴

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 476; *Book of Glasgow Cathedral*, p. 308.

³ In his book above mentioned (pp. 21, 22) Mr. Chalmers has the following observations:—"The rood screen stands on the level of the choir floor between the eastern piers of the crossing. The low elliptical-shaped arched door in the centre is richly moulded. The wall on each side now looks bare and ineffective, but this is wholly due to the fact that the eight statues which stood upon carved corbels in the panels have been destroyed. The fragment of a statue which is preserved in the chapter-house may be part of one of these. The most important part of the design of the screen is the beautiful parapet of open tracery and tabernacle work. The tracery is of a much later type than the tracery of Bishop Cameron's work in the spire. The carvings on the cornice which supports the parapet are exceedingly interesting. The figures carved at the ends are ecclesiastics, but there is no clue which would lead to their identification. The seven intermediate carvings illustrate the seven ages of man. Old age occupies the centre, as appropriate to the Rood; Infancy, Youth and Manhood are on the north side, with the schoolboy, the lover, and the sage on the south. A very brief description will suffice: I. Infancy: a young wife sits with an infant on her knee, with her husband alongside. II. The Schoolboy: the master is behind a pile of books, asleep it may be, and the scholar plucks at his chin. III. Youth: a woman pinches the ear of a youth, whose smiling face, and knee drawn up in pretended agony, reveal the age of frolic. IV. The lover: he sits with his arm round his mistress's neck. V. The soldier: armed cap à pie, he fights with a lion. VI. The elderly sage: with his wife beside him, he holds a long roll in his hands. VII. Old age: again a married pair is figured, and again the symbolism is confined to the man. The artist was gallant and the wife is comely still. These carvings which are in some parts destroyed, anticipated the words of the melancholy Jacques by just one hundred years." (See also *Scots Lore*, pp. 89-94.)

⁴ The contract, as printed in *Registrum Episcopatus*, No. 543, is stated to be in the British Museum, but there is also a duplicate stitched to the leaf

In the fifteenth century there was, throughout Scotland, a revival in church building ; but on account, probably, of the accommodation afforded by the Cathedral for the erection of new altars and chaplainries by those who were so inclined, no separate church or chapel, other than the chapels connected with St. Nicholas and the Leper hospitals, appears to have been founded in Glasgow within that period till 1500.⁵ On

on which Cuthbert Simson's protocol No. 198 is written. The writing runs thus :—" Memorandum, that it is appunctit betuix venerable and wirschipfull men, the dene and cheptour of Glasgw, on the tapairt, and Mychell Waghorn, wrycht, on the toderpairt, that is to say the said Mychell sall mak, Godwilling, to the queyre of Glasgw, fife silouris for the covering of the stallis, twenty fute lang ilk siloure, on the best fassone, that is to say the gest at the siloure standis in to be hewin and graithit be him, with tua frontellis, ane on ilk syde of the gest, schorne and kersit werk, with five colums to ilk siloure and anglis as efferis, with hede and frontellis fiellis with knoppis and with thre gret hyngaris and knoppis with ryzrufe and foure lefis about ilk knop in ilk siloure, sik lik as is in the chapell of Striviling. And as to the principale frontellis of thir five silouris, to be divisit be the masteris of werk, and specially eftir the forme of the frontell of the silouris of the hie altare in Glasgu. And as to the sawine of all and sindri burdis and treis neidfull to the said werk, the said Mychell sall mak all burdis and treis at may be sawin with hand saw to be sawin, and the dene and cheptour sall mak wther burdis and treis at mane be sawine with armyt sawis siklik to be sawine. Atour the said Michell oblis his him faithfully to remane still at the said werk and not pas tharfra quhill the completing of the samyn without special leif of the dene or president and cheptour of Glasgu foresaid. And sa to the making of scaffating and wpputting of the said silouris, the said Mychell sall mak the samyn, the saidis dene and cheptour findand the stuffe as efferis tharto and to the laif of werk. And for the completing of the fife silouris the said Michell sall hafe fourty merkis, ay according to the werk, ane quarter before hand geif he pleis. This contract wes maid within the kirk of Glasgw, the acht day of Januare, the yeir of God, j^mv^c sex yeris, before thir witnes : masteris Rolland Blacader, subdene ; Adame Culquhone, persone of Govane ; Mychell Flemyng, persone of Alncromb ; Nicholl Greynlaw, persone of Edulfristoun ; chanonis of Glasgw ; with divers wtheris."

Glossary :—Appunctit, appointed ; armyt sawis, saws worked by more than one person ; at, that ; fassone, fashion ; fiellis, round tops ; fife, five ; frontellis, front curtains ; gest, joist ; graithit, furnished ; greit hyngaris, great hangings, tapestry ; hede, head ; knoppis, knobs ; lefis, carved leaves ; mane, must ; ryzrufe (" rynrufe " in *Diocesan Registers*), run-roof ; sawyne, sawing ; scaffating, scaffolding ; schorne and kersit werk, perhaps cut and shaped or dressed work ; silouris, canopies ; tapairt, one part ; toderpairt, other part.

⁵ The primitive chapels of St. Mary, St. Tenu and St. Thomas are understood to have been instituted at earlier though unknown dates.



SAINT NICHOLAS' CHAPEL.



3rd October of that year, David Cunninghame, archdeacon of Argyle, provost of the collegiate church of Hamilton and official of the diocese, founded a chaplainry in a church which he erected, on his own charges, in the Gallowgate. The site is described as lying outside the city port, beyond the Molendinar Burn and near the trees called St. Kentigern's, and the original endowments embraced a tenement in Trongate and several acres of land in Dowhill, Gallowmuir and Provanside, with annualrents from the lands of Drips and an orchard near Rutherglen.⁶ The church or chapel so founded usually got the name of St. Kentigern and was sometimes called the Little Church of St. Kentigern. It does not seem to have been fully equipped till a few years after 1500. On 11th January, 1504-5, David Cunninghame, the founder, then acting as vicar-general of the archbishop who was on business abroad, appeared in the chapter-house of the cathedral and in presence of Martin Rede, assistant and successor of Martin Wan, chancellor, and other dignitaries and canons, and in name of the archbishop desired John Gibson, rector of Renfrew, who had been acting as master of work of the church of St. Kentigern, "to lay out money and pay the expenses of the small and minute works about and within that church, as his predecessors, masters of work, had been in the practice of doing."⁷

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* No. 481; *Glasg. Memorials*, pp. 236-8. The lands of Drips are in the parish of East Kilbride, Lanarkshire.

⁷ *Diocesan Reg. Prot.* No. 91. The editors of the *Diocesan Registers* understood the works here referred to as applying to the cathedral but it seems evident that the new church in the Gallowgate was meant. A transaction, the particulars of which are recorded a few years later illustrates not only the distinction between the two churches but also the exercise of the subdeanery jurisdiction (*antea*, p. 4). In an instrument dated 22nd November, 1509, it is set forth that in a full and confirmed head court of the subdean, held, after Michaelmas, in the "Subdenisland," in the house of John Graham (a former bailie of the subdeanery) by Roland Blacader, subdean, and Thomas Hucheson, his bailie, it was found that William Purdhome was lawful and nearest heir of the late John Purdhome, his grandfather, and of Thomas Purdhome, his uncle, and also of Marion Cuningham, his mother, in fourteen rigs of land in Provanside, in which John, Thomas and Marion died vested,

There is not much known regarding this church of St. Kentigern and its services, but one of the few bits of extant information relates to the induction of a chaplain in 1513. On 24th September of that year, subsequent to the death of Dionisius Achenlek,⁸ possessor of the chaplainry, Cuthbert Simson, priest and notary public, by authority of the archbishop, inducted Sir John Symonton into the corporal possession of the chaplainry, by delivery of the keys of the church, the bell rope, book, chalice and ornaments of the altar, to Mr. John Rede, chaplain of the royal chapel of Dundonald, as procurator and in name of Sir John, the procurator touching the delivered articles in token of completed possession.⁹

Martin Wan, who had been chancellor of the metropolitan church from at least the year 1475¹⁰ and who has already been mentioned in connection with his supervision of the grammar schools,¹ had acquired various annualrents payable from properties in the city, bestowed these, amounting to £6 12s. 8d. yearly, for the maintenance of one poor person living in the almshouse or hospital of St. Nicholas. By the deed of foundation, which is dated 1st June, 1501, and to which the common

at the faith of the king, of holy mother church and of the subdean. Three of the fourteen rigs lay between the lands of the chaplainry of St. Michael in the church of Glasgow, on the east, and those of the chaplainry founded in the church of St. Kentigern in the Gallowgate, on the west. After William Purdhome had been formally vested in the fourteen rigs he conveyed the whole to Roland Blacader, in name of the church, meaning here the cathedral, subject to payment of the annualrents owing to the subdeanery. (*Ibid.* Nos. 391-3.)

⁸ Achinlek is frequently mentioned in Cuthbert Simson's protocols and he was one of the executors on the estate of the founder of the church of St. Kentigern, as stated in protocol No. 366, dated 18th May, 1509.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 652. Subsequent to the Reformation the endowments of the church came into the possession of the College (see Rental in *Munimenta Alme Universitatis* i. p. 175). In 1593 the church site was acquired by the magistrates and council and in the deed of transfer it is stated that they were not entitled to alter the Cunninghame arms on the church "sa lang as the wall standis" (*Glasg. Prot.*, No. 2701; *Glas Rec.* iv. pp. 679-80).

¹⁰ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. No. 1428.

¹ *Antea*, pp. 274-6.

seal of the city and the seal of the chancellor were appended, the provost, bailies and council were appointed to be patrons after his death. On a vacancy occurring the patrons were to select as the next beneficiary a native of the parish of Glasgow and present him to the master of the hospital for admission.² The chaplain of the hospital usually acted as master³ though the joint designation may not have been given on appointment. It happens that only two months before the date of Wan's endowment a new chaplain had been inducted. The chaplainry of the hospital having become vacant through the demission of Sir Thomas Bartholomew, last chaplain, the archbishop of Glasgow, with consent of the canons, chapterly assembled, presented Cuthbert Symson, priest, as chaplain, on condition that he should daily attend within the Pedagogy of Glasgow for the instruction of youths in grammar and reading in the same, and he was formally installed and vested in the rule and administration of his office with all the revenues and emoluments belonging thereto.⁴

Cuthbert Symson was chapter clerk of Glasgow and a notary public, and from his Protocol Book, embracing the period 1499-1513, valuable information on some minute points of Glasgow history is obtainable. Transactions the particulars of which were recorded in a notary's protocols were carried through in the presence of witnesses, so many of whom were named and the remainder were embraced in the formula

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 92-96. Martin Wan, the chancellor, was a contemporary of Bishop Andrew and on that account it is satisfactory, in the dearth of other direct evidence, to have his express statement that the bishop was founder of St. Nicholas Hospital. A facsimile of Wan's deed of foundation is given in Sir Michael Connal's Memorial on the hospital (1859), printed in *Transactions of Glasgow Archaeological Society*, 1st series, vol. i. pp. 135-79.

³ The site of Renfrew manse, part of the hospital ground, was conveyed to the prebendary by Sir William Silver, subchanter and master of the hospital on 22nd May 1507, so that Simson does not seem to have been acting as master at that time. (*Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 190.)

⁴ *Munimenta Alme Universitatis*, i. pp. 39-41 (30th April, 1501).

"and many others." The bulk of such transactions related to heritable properties, where the parties appeared on the open ground in full public view, but in other cases the purpose was served by attendance in a church, the chapter-house of the cathedral or other equally accessible premises. Several of Cuthbert Symson's protocols record proceedings which took place in St. Nicholas' Hospital. By one of the protocols relating to the hospital it is narrated that on 27th April, 1510, the notary and witnesses appeared at a tenement situated in the "Stablegreyn," outwith the city port, when possession of an annualrent, payable from that property, and bestowed by Michael Flemyng, master of arts, as the endowment of a bed in the hospital, was symbolically given to John Curry, one of the poor men therein.⁵ On 25th May, 1513, in presence of canons and priests, the subchanter of Glasgow appeared in the hospital and presented John Bull, a poor man, to a bed in the hospital, which bed had formerly been possessed by William Mathy or Johnson, then recently deceased, and the chaplain was charged to admit Bull to the brotherhood and to the privileges of the hospital.⁶

A ceremony of a very different description was witnessed in and adjoining the hospital, in the notary's chamber, on 6th August, 1510, when John Gibson, prebendary or parson of Renfrew, whose manse was only a few yards north of the hospital, assuming his wallet, cloak, cap and staff, and taking leave of the bystanders and advancing a little space began his journey to his holiness Pope Julius II. and the apostolic see, committing himself, his prebend and all his goods, spiritual and temporal, to the protection of the Pope and the holy see.⁷

The hospital and its chaplainry were possessed of several pieces of ground at the New Green, feuduties from which are payable to the hospital at the present time. One of these

⁵ *Dioc. Reg. Protocol*, No. 434.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 637.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 481.

properties seems to have been acquired in 1512-3, as on 12th February of that year, in presence of the subdean and other members of the chapter assembled in the chapter-house, the vicars of the choir, with consent of the chapter, conveyed in feu-farm to Cuthbert Simson, chaplain of St. Nicholas' Hospital, and his successors, an acre of land lying in the field of Kyncleth, in the Brumelands, and adjoining other lands belonging to the chaplainry. The yearly feuduty payable to the vicars was 30d.⁸

Shortly after the planting of Little St. Kentigern, a church dedicated to St. Roche was founded on the north side of the city. St. Roche was a native of Montpelier, in France. It is said that in his lifetime (A.D. 1295-1327) he effected many miraculous cures on persons stricken by the plague, and belief in his power as an intercessor was not lessened by his canonisation. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there appears to have been in this country an awakened interest in the saint. As shown by the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, King James, on 20th March, 1501-2, gave 14s. to the "wrichtis" of a chapel dedicated to St. Roche which had been or was being erected in the burgh muir of Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which city had suffered severely from the trouble; on 11th July he supplied the chapel with fifteen ells of linen cloth; and on 30th October there was paid the large sum of £10 10s. "to the French frere (friar) that brocht ane bane of Sanct Rowk to the King." This relic was no doubt regarded as a powerful antidote to the pest and it was probably placed in the chapel, where in subsequent years the king made occasional offerings. Glasgow seems to have had a visitation of the pest in 1504, as in a protocol dated 5th June of that year it is stated that a chaplain and vicar of the choir, named Sir John Brakanrig, lay at the point of death "*ex morbo pestifero*" in the house of "Patrick Hammiltoun *alias* John Elphinstoun." John Knox,

⁸ *Diac. Reg. Protocol*, No. 664.

who had been appointed by the bailies to keep the chaplain in seclusion, appeared before the door of the house in which he lay and announced to a notary and the witnesses there assembled the will of the dying chaplain as to the disposal of his goods, and the statement was confirmed by Bessy Revoch, "the other keeper of the said Sir John."⁹ It must have been about this time that the movement for the erection of the Glasgow chapel originated, though specific information on the subject is not obtained till a couple of years later. On 20th June, 1506, in presence of the archbishop and the president and chapter, assembled in the chapter-house of the cathedral, Sir Andrew Burell, chaplain, appeared and, with consent of the president and chapter and of the provost and bailies, on behalf of the community of the city of Glasgow, assigned to Sir Thomas Forbas, chaplain of the church of Saint Roche, founded and about to be built in the territory of Glasgow, a tenement and yard lying in the Ratounraw. Burell also gave up the Whitsunday rents and on the other hand the provost and bailies bestowed on him a gratuity of twenty shillings.¹⁰

The constitution of another chaplainry in the new church and its endowment was made the occasion of a more imposing ceremony. At the Michaelmas head court of the burgh, held on 10th October, 1508, in presence of the provost, a bailie, and other citizens, gathered "in great and overflowing

⁹ *Dioc. Reg. Protocol* No. 87. The instrument prepared by the notary, embodying these statements, would thus form the chaplain's last will and testament.

¹⁰ *Dioc. Reg. Protocol* No. 181. At this time Sir John Stewart, of Minto, knight, was provost and Thomas Hucheson and David Lindesay were bailies. The Ratounraw property mentioned in this protocol is probably that which Thomas Forbas, then master of arts, transferred to David Murehede, chaplain in the church of St. Roche, as set forth in an instrument dated 24th November, 1512 (*Ibid.* No. 602). On this date also several other tenements and annual-rents were vested in the same chaplain in name of the church (*Ibid.* Nos. 601, 603-5).



ANCIENT ROYAL ARMS OF SCOTLAND, FROM CARVED STONE
FROM OLD TOLBOOTH.

numbers," in the tolbooth, Mr. Thomas Muirhead, canon of Glasgow and rector of Stobo, declared that he had founded several chaplainries within the church of St. Roche, newly established within the territory of the city. One of these chaplainries he appointed to be at the presentation of the community of the city, when vacancies occurred, and in exercise of the patronage thus conferred, the provost, bailie and community, at his desire, presented Sir Alexander Robertone, chaplain, to the benefice. These proceedings took place at ten o'clock, forenoon, and in the same surroundings, an hour later, Muirhead endowed the chaplainry with property built by him and lying in the Bridgegate, adjoining the Nether Port.¹ Besides being patrons of one of these chaplainries it is probable that the magistrates and community were the donors of the sites of the church and its surrounding cemetery and croft as these originally formed part of the town's common muir. Though the precise spot where the church stood has not been quite identified it was apparently between the modern Glebe Street and Castle Street near the place intersected by the canal, where through part of the cemetery and croft grounds Tennant Street and Kennedy Street have been formed. But while all trace of buildings and cemetery has long ago disappeared the church is abidingly commemorated by its name which, passing through the variations of Roque, Rowk and Rollock, has for some time settled into the well known form of St. Rollox.²

The croft and other lands belonging to and adjoining the

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 97-99; ii, pp. 479-81. The witnesses to these proceedings included two canons, acting as vicars-general, in the absence of the archbishop and other clerics and burgesses. The tolbooth in which this large concourse of people had assembled was probably that of which a stone, carved with the royal arms, is still preserved. A photograph of the stone is reproduced in *Glasgow Records*, vol. viii. p. xxvi., and the stone itself lies in the Kelvingrove Art Gallery.

² The church will come into subsequent notice but reference may here be made to *Glasg. Memorials*, pp. 238-41; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1161, 3516.

church of St. Roche were divided into two lots by the liners of the city and were, on 24th November, 1512, vested in Mr. David Murehede and Sir Alexander Robertson, chaplains of the church, each of them obtaining his assigned portion.³

The liners just referred to were officials chosen in conformity with old Burgh Laws which provided for their appointment by the alderman and community for the purpose of defining the boundaries of land within the burgh according to their old and right marches.⁴ By recognised usage the powers of the liners latterly included the settlement of all disputes among the neighbours regarding their adjoining properties, one example of the exercise of which functions may here be noticed. In 1512 a burgess, named in one place Patrick Lappy and in another Patrick Dunlop *alias* Lopyy, purchased a property on the east side of High Street, and three years later, for the adjustment of a question which had arisen between him and one of his neighbours, Kentigern Mortoun, he "approached the liners of the city, elected and approved for lining and measuring, by suitable inquisition, all and sundry lands where-soever and whatsoever, to be settled and determined between whomsoever co-burgesses or inhabitants within the burgh." The nature of the complaint is gathered from the verdict of the liners which was delivered in presence of the provost, bailies, and a large number of citizens, assembled in the tol-booth, when the neighbour (named "Kentigernus" in the Latin and "Mowngo" in the vernacular) was ordained "to put up ane hewin spowt of stayne" in part of his wall "to kep the said Mowngous drop off the said Patrikis tenement and skathyne

³ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 606.

⁴ *Ancient Laws*, i. pp. 51, 58, 96. By the first of these laws it was provided that the liners were to be at least four in number. At the earliest election in Glasgow, the record of which is extant, five liners were chosen. This was in October, 1574. When the dean of guild court was constituted under the provisions of the letter of guildry, in 1605, it was ordained that the liners should consist of four merchants and four craftsmen, an arrangement which has subsisted till the present time.

of it in tymis cumyng.”⁵ By this time the ground on the east side of High Street was getting well covered by buildings and protection from the effects of eavesdrop must often have been demanded.

For infringement of the statutes requiring foreign merchants to traffic exclusively with free burghs, and specially the Precept of James IV., dated 20th October, 1490,⁶ the King’s Advocate and the burghs of Glasgow and Dumbarton, in January, 1499–1500, prosecuted Lady Lile and Nicol Ramsay for purchasing, and two merchants of Brittany for selling, quantities of wine and salt, being part of the cargo of a ship called the *Christopher* of Ceuta, a famous seaport on the Moorish coast which at that time belonged to Portugal. What penalties, if any, were imposed on the accused is not explicitly stated, the recorded decision of the Lords of Council, before whom the proceedings were taken, merely expressing approval of the king’s precept, and directing that “it be observed and kept in all particulars, under the penalties therein contained.”⁷

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 482, 488.

⁶ *Antea*, pp. 244–5.

⁷ *Acta Dom. Con.* ii. pp. 358–9; where the Precept, the original of which has disappeared from the city’s repositories, is printed in full. See also Abstract of the Precept, *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 86.

CHAPTER XLI

POPULATION—OLD GREEN—FEUING OF COMMON LANDS—
WAULK MILL ON WATER OF KELVIN—LINNINGSHAUGH
—SKINNERS GREEN—SOCIETY OF FISHERS—ASSIZE OF
HERRING—SUBDEAN'S MILL—FORTIFIED HOUSE IN HIGH
STREET—LANDS OF GORBALS—CADDER AND MONKLAND

HISTORIANS of Glasgow have usually acquiesced in the estimate that at the time of the Reformation the population of the city was about 4,500. Perhaps there was not any very reliable basis for this calculation at the time it was made, but in the absence of definite information the substitution of other figures need not be attempted. Towards the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, when the population may be assumed to have been from 2,000 to 3,500, the built portions of the city were being slightly increased, as shown by the few deeds of alienation which have been preserved, but here our knowledge is on a very limited scale because we have no protocol book specially relating to city properties of an earlier date than 1530.¹ Extensions for building purposes are noticed in Ratounraw to the westward, about the middle of the High Street, and along Gallowgate not far from the cross. In Trongate, buildings had probably got no farther west than midway between the cross and the line of

¹ Cuthbert Simson's book, 1499-1513, relating to properties and transactions throughout the diocese, contains several protocols connected with the city, but it cannot be classed with the later protocols of the town clerks who had a monopoly in recording title deeds of burgh property.

Stockwell Street, while to the north of Trongate was the open Long Croft, and to the south was Mutland Croft, tilled by individual proprietors, the pathway leading to the bridge separating the tilled lands from part of the common green belonging to the citizens. Mutland Croft, with its crops difficult to protect from the ravages of geese, swine and other animals, was kept almost wholly free from the erection of buildings till the latter half of the sixteenth century, but the green was appropriated for that purpose at an earlier date. In April, 1503, five plots of the Green, each containing two roods of ground, were sold by the magistrates and council to five separate purchasers who undertook to pay to the common purse yearly feuduties of from 10s. to 16s. 8d. each. The north boundary of this feued area was the king's highway from Barresyet to the bridge, some of the lots had the Molen-dinar Burn for their south boundary, and one of them had on its west side a vennel, five ells wide, extending from the highway to the burn.²

After the disposal of the bulk of the ground lying between Bridgegate and the river Clyde the area latterly known as the Old Green of Glasgow and styled by a sixteenth century notary "*palestra de Glasgw lusoria*"—Glasgow's playground—was restricted to that section of the original ground which extended from Stockwell Street to St. Enoch's Burn, a little to the east of what is now Jamaica Street. When in course of time this space in its turn was so encroached upon as to be no longer available as a place of recreation, lands to the eastward were acquired for the formation of the New Green. The first of these acquisitions consisted of about twelve acres of land called Linningshaugh, the early history of which, if known, would clear up some doubtful questions. Traced in the bishops' rental books from the year 1526, Linningshaugh was for a long time possessed by rentallers in separate portions.

² *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 44, 49-53.

The lands are supposed to have embraced the site of the waulk or fulling mill which gave to Saltmarket Street its earlier name of Walkergait. The water power of the old waulk mill, and perhaps also of an early grain mill, may have been supplied by the combined flow of the Molendinar and Camlachie burns, which joined each other at Linningshaugh. Camlachie Burn seems to have been embanked a little to the east of that point, giving to the adjoining lands the names of Milldamhead and Crooks of Milldam. These lands at one time belonged to the community, and there, till near the end of the sixteenth century, it was customary for the burgesses to assemble yearly and hold their Whitsunday court, at which the common good was set to tacksmen, the treasurer, clerk, master of work and minstrels, were chosen, and arrangements were made for the annual perambulation of the marches.

In the year 1507-8, Archbishop Blacader caused a new waulk mill to be erected on his lands at the Water of Kelvin, and it may be assumed that about that time his mill at Linningshaugh would be discontinued, leaving the lands on which it had stood or had been surrounded free for the raising of crops or for pasturage. But, really, on these points much is left to conjecture, little being definitely known about the original waulk mill though the history of its successor on the Kelvin can be satisfactorily traced. The object of its erection is explicitly stated in a charter granted on 27th January, 1507-8, from which it appears that the archbishop, who was then on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land, had founded two chaplainries in Glasgow and one in the parish of Carstairs. Of the Glasgow chaplainries one was dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Consolation, at the altar of St. John the Baptist, in the nave of the cathedral, and in front of the image or statue of the Virgin. The other chaplainry was in honour of St. Kentigern at his altar founded by the bishop's brother, Sir Patrick Blacader, knight, near the tomb of the saint in the lower church. Part

of the endowments of these three chaplainries consisted of a grant from the petty customs of the burgh of Glasgow, and it was for the purpose of compensating his successors for the loss of customs that the archbishop caused a waulk mill to be erected and maintained on his lands at the Water of Kelvin, for which a yearly rent of six merks was to be paid to him and his successors.³ From Donald Lyon, a rentaller in 1517, the mill passed in 1554, to his son, Archibald Lyon, under whose name it is frequently mentioned in the records. The site now forms part of Kelvingrove Park.

The stream below the confluence of the Molendinar and Camlachie burns divided the burgh lands from those of the barony, but in times of flood the doubled burn was apt to change its course, casting uncertainty on the true march. On one of these occasions a Linningshaugh rentaller represented that in consequence of the flooded stream taking a new course through his lands the adjoining Bridgegate proprietors had appropriated portions of his property and had for several successive seasons sown hemp and other seeds and set plants thereon; and he sought restitution of his rights. This claim was referred to the liners of the burgh and the sworn men in the Partick ward of the barony, and after joint investigation they restored the severed ground to the rentaller; and at a burgh court held in July, 1596, the city bailies ratified the decision.⁴

In the years 1577-9 there was a readjustment of the lots of Linningshaugh possessed by the respective rentallers, and instead of the apportioned acres running from east to west as formerly, they were laid out from the "loyne" on the north to the river Clyde on the south. These changes which were made on the report of the sworn men of Partick Ward, "conforme to the use of the barony," were sanctioned by the court

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 486. See also *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3266.

⁴ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 567-9.

of the barony and regality, held "at the Castle and Paleis thairof." ⁵

On the west side of the stream, opposite Linningshaugh, and extending a short distance along the north bank of the river Clyde, was a piece of ground long used by the Skinners of Glasgow for drying their wool and skins and latterly known as Skinners Green. In title-deed descriptions of properties in this vicinity references to lime-holes and bark-holes frequently occur, these receptacles, along with the burn, being required in the tanning of hides, the first stage in the process of leather manufacture. A seal of cause was granted to the Glasgow skinners in 1516 but there need be no doubt that, even though this may have been their first formal incorporation, members of that body had for some time practised their trade in the city; and the green was probably used by them at the time of feuing the adjoining lots in 1503.

John M'Ure states that "of old" the city was well furnished with salmon fishing on the river Clyde and that there was an incorporation of fishers above a hundred years before his time, but that these conditions no longer existed in consequence of the liming of the land and the steeping of lint in the river "which kills the salmon" ⁶ But Glasgow's salmon fishing continued long after M'Ure's day, though perhaps not to its former extent. The "incorporation" of fishers, whether a formally federated society or simply a body of men following a common trade, probably did not confine their attention to salmon fishing as it is understood that the taking and curing of herring was an industry of some importance to the early citizens. From remote times the sovereigns of Scotland exacted a tax, called an assise, on the produce of the herring fisheries, and this assise for the west seas and lochs was yearly

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 558-61.

⁶ *History of Glasgow* (1830 edition) p. 122.

accounted for at Glasgow. The separate contributions were collected from the owners of fishing boats by a tacksman who paid a fixed rent to the crown and appropriated the surplus as his own profit. On 29th June, 1501, King James granted to "Peter Coquhwn" a three-years' tack of the assise herring of the west sea coast and the lochs there, in consideration of his supplying four lasts of herrings to the king's household, barrelled and well salted, to be delivered, free of all charges, within Glasgow, on 8th January, yearly. A renewal tack was granted to "Petir of Culquhone," for nine years from Candlemas, 1507, the stipulation for delivery, in Glasgow, of four lasts of herring (equal to 48 barrels) being repeated. The tacksman having died, his widow, Isobell Elphinstoun, on 9th September, 1512, got a new tack for thirteen years, the rent being increased to six lasts of herring yearly. Shortly after this the widow married David Lindesay of Dunrod, and on 17th June, 1515, the assise was leased to John Flemyng of Auchinbole for his lifetime.⁷ A tack granted by Queen Mary to James Campbell, in 1561-2, provided for the delivery of six lasts and two barrels of herrings, at the burgh of Glasgow, between

⁷ *Reg. Secreti Sigilli*, i. Nos. 710, 1585, 2431, 2576. Isabella Elphinstoun, lady of Dunrod, in her account as lessee of the assise of herrings of the sea and western lochs for three years from 1513 got an allowance for barrels and storage, on condition that in future six lasts of herrings were to be delivered free at Glasgow, on 8th January yearly, to the servants of the king or comptroller (*Exchequer Rolls*, xiv, pp. 195-6).

Parliament bestowed attention on the improvement of fishing and on 26th June, 1493, a statute was passed, lamenting "the greate innumerable riches that is tinte in faulte of schippes and busches" or fishing boats, and directing that every town and burgh, according to their substance, should fit out ships and boats for the taking of fish, the officers of royal burghs being authorised to "make all the stark idle men within their bounds to pas with said ships for thair waigis" (*A.P.S.* ii. p. 235 c. 20). Writing in 1498, Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, at the Court of King James, when describing the produce of the country, says: "It is impossible to describe the immense quantity of fish. The old proverb says already '*piscinata Scotia*.' Great quantities of salmon, herring, and a kind of dried fish, which they call stock fish, are exported. The quantity is so great that it suffices for Italy, Fraunce, Flanders and England" (*Early Travellers*, p. 44).

Martinmas and Candlemas, yearly.⁸ Glasgow being thus the place for delivery of the assise herring to the crown it may be inferred that facilities would be afforded for their curing and barrelling, a process which may have been practised on a larger scale for export. In home trading it is noticed that by the "auld statutes," referred to in 1575, there were certain hours for selling herring at the bridge, but subsequently part of the Trongate was assigned as the market place.⁹

Shortly after the time when the site of the waulk mill is supposed to have been changed from the Molendinar Burn to the Water of Kelvin, the former stream, on which the town's corn mill had stood for a century and a half, was utilised for the establishment of another mill for grinding grain. This was the Subdean's Mill which was erected by the subdean, Roland Blacader, on the burn, at the western extremity of the lands of Wester Craigs. At a meeting of the cathedral chapter, held on 18th May, 1513, permission was given to the subdean to form an aqueduct from the east end of the cemetery, where some of the canons' manses were placed, and to divert

⁸ *Fourth Report of Historical MSS. Commission*, p. 481. The countess of Argyll became lessee in 1600, at a rent of fourteen lasts of herring, and subsequent tacks were mainly to the dukes of Argyll or members of that family. The rent in 1619, no longer in kind, was £1,000 Scots, at which figure it stood in subsequent tacks, including that of John duke of Argyll, for thirty-eight years from 1717, in which tack it was stated that the duke and his predecessors had been "lessees of the assyse herring for many ages" (*Ibid.* pp. 481-2).

An account of the factors of Alexander Campbell, bishop of Brechin, who was tacksman of the assise in 1596, shows that at that time 470 boats, belonging to the localities there named, contributed five merks each, amounting in all to £1557 6s. 8d. Scots. The town of Renfrew had nineteen boats, the laird of Newark (afterwards Port Glasgow) had twelve, the laird of Greenock seventy-eight, the parish of Inverkip seventy-nine, and Saltcoats and Kilbryde twenty-eight. (*Glasg. Prot.* v. pp. xii-xiv.) After settling the crown rent the tacksman would thus secure a substantial profit. Another crown exaction, "the assyse aill," accounted for by the Sheriff of Dumbarton, and yielding £12 yearly, is described by Sir William Purves in his *Revenue of the Scottish Crown*, 1681, p. 73, as "ane auld dewtie payed to his Majestie for the aill that is drunken and spent att the fishing of the west sea, bot ther is hardly anything payed since anno 1646."

⁹ *Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 39, 366.

the water of the burn and lead it along the foot of the Craig to the site of the mill which was being erected by the subdean. On 17th June the archbishop and chapter approved of the scheme and authorised the subdean and his successors to maintain the mill, rebuilding it when necessary, and to collect the water and use it for driving the machinery in all future time.¹⁰ To the subdean's mills the grain growing on the lands of Easter and Wester Craigs was thirled ; and at a later time when it was of importance that the town should have a monopoly of multure dues throughout the city the mills were acquired by the magistrates and council and were retained by them till their removal in the course of operations under the Glasgow Improvements Act of 1866.

John Elphinstoun, the first rentaller of the lands of Gorbals whose name has been definitely traced, was the son of Agnes Forsyth, who, when first heard of was the wife of one named Patrick Hamilton and presumably the widow of John Elphinstone's father. In 1506 Agnes Forsyth liferented a tenement on the east side of High Street, probably the house in which, two years previously, the chaplain, John Brakanrig, was secluded in the time of the pest,¹ and then stated to belong to "Patrick Hammyltoun *alias* John Elphinstoun." As narrated in a document dated 19th May, 1506, Agnes Forsyth, there designated spouse of Patrick Hamilton, conveyed to John Elphinstoun, "her son and heir" a chamber situated above the kitchen of her tenement, to be possessed by him during her lifetime, on condition that he should build and give to her the liferent use of a house, near at hand, in which she could completely brew and bake bread for her own family and strangers. The other parts of the house seem to have continued in the possession of Agnes Forsyth and her husband, as on 3rd February following, in presence of a notary and witnesses, assembled in the hall of Patrick Hamilton, John

¹⁰ *Diocesan Reg. Prot.* Nos. 635 and 641.

¹ *Antea*, pp. 287-8.

Elphinstoun declared that Sir Thomas Forsyth had said of him that he was "a defamit persone perpetuall, and ane verray erratic (heretic) and a Jow"; and in repudiation of this slander he protested for remedy of law. Perhaps this incident discloses the existence of a family feud as, to judge from the name, Sir Thomas Forsyth, apparently a priest, may have been the brother or other relative of Agnes.²

If, as seems likely, it was this tenement which was converted into a fortified building, called in the records, "ane batellit hous," John Elphinstoun must have obtained possession of the whole building shortly after he was granted the use of the upper chamber. On 16th June, 1508, King James gave "Johne Elphinstoun, citizen of Glasgow, full licence and power to byg and erect his fore hous, in his land and tenement liand within the said ciete, in the Hiegate thairrof, with battelling, macholing, and all uther maner of defens and munitioun necessar for savite and proffit of his said hous and thak thairrof fra invasioun of fyre, wynd, and utherwayis."³ By battelling one readily understands battlements, but it may be explained that "macholing," as defined by Jamieson, means the construction of openings in the floor of a projecting battlement,

² *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 164, 201. On 16th June, 1498, Thomas Forsyth, canon of the cathedral church of Ross and prebendary of Logy, therein, founded a chaplainry, in honour of Saints Peter and Paul, in the lower metropolitan church of Glasgow, situated between the altar of St. Nicholas on the north and that of St. Andrew on the south. The endowments consisted of two tenements and also annualrents amounting to £4 8s. yearly, payable from several properties. One of the tenements was situated in Ratounraw and lay to the west of a property belonging to the abbot and convent of Paisley, and the other tenement is described as built by the founder "on the west cunze," near the market cross in Walkergait, thus indicating the corner property south of Trongate and east of Saltmarket. (*Reg. Episc.* No. 480.) This chaplainry the founder on 7th April, 1506, conferred on his cousin, Sir Thomas Forsyth, chaplain; (*Dioc. Reg. Prot.* 154) and he is presumably the priest who made the accusation quoted in the text.

³ *Reg. Sec. Sig.* i. No. 1696. As letters of protection were granted by the King to Elphinstone on 20th September, 1510 (*Ibid.* No. 2127), it may be supposed that he was then subject to some danger or trouble.

through which stones, darts, etc., might be hurled upon assailants. "Munitioun" implies provision for placing the guns or small artillery of the period. Security against the elements was likewise aimed at. The wooden fronts of buildings at that time made them readily liable to catch fire. Constructed of stone, as the fort doubtless was, and reared to a considerable height, not only would there be protection from fire, but when the wind was tirling more exposed roofs, the thatch on Elphinstoun's adjoining buildings would be comparatively safe. Such licenses were rare, but apparently necessary before a fortified building could be erected, as this document proceeds on the assurance that neither Elphinstoun nor his heirs should be accused or incur danger or loss on account of the establishment of his fort "nochtwithstanding any statutis or lawis of the kingis in the contrare." Only one other similar building has been heard of in Glasgow, viz., the tower or fortalice on the west side of Stockwell Street, elsewhere referred to.⁴

About the time when the license just referred to was granted a bailie of the city was named John Elphinstoun, but he is not quite identified with the owner of the fort, who, there seems no reason to doubt, was the earliest rentaller of Gorbals found on record. On 14th June, 1520, Beatrice Wardlaw was relieved of forfeiture consequent on her contracting a second marriage without license of the archbishop, and was "rentalit agayn" in the lands of Gorbals. In the following year she resigned her rental rights to her son, "George Elphinstoun, son of umwyle Jone Elphistoun," under reservation of her own life-rent.⁵ The name Elphinstone was common in Glasgow at that time, and one can only guess that Beatrice Wardlaw was the "wife of John Elphinstoun," to whom the parson of Erskine bequeathed his best gown when he made his last will and testament on 30th June, 1507. Unluckily the wife's name is not mentioned in the protocol narrating the bequest, an omission

⁴ *Antea*, p. 74.

⁵ *Dioc. Reg.* pp. 78, 82.

which deprives us of specific evidence on the point.⁶ In a protocol dated 29th June, 1554, the "batellit house" is mentioned as adjoining another tenement which George Elphinstone, son and heir of another George, sold to enable him to be rentalled in the lands of Gorbals. On each change of rental right, either by transmission to an heir or to a purchaser, a substantial contribution required to be made to the archbishop, lord of the regality, and it was to meet a demand of this kind that money was now needed. In 1588 the building itself, described as a "great tenement called the battellit hows," was conveyed by "George Elphinstoun of Blytheswood" to a third George, his son and heir, but reserving the father's liferent.⁷

The levying of certain kinds of vicarage dues exigible from the representatives of deceased parishioners, sometimes occasioned unusual hardship. Trouble of this sort seems to be referred to when, on 9th March, 1503-4, Thomas Huchonson, bailie, protested before the archbishop and members of the chapter, that the community should not be prejudiced with regard to the custom of paying mort dues in the parish of Glasgow whatever might be done in the cause pending between the vicar and one named John Curry. On his part the vicar protested that unless the community by itself, or through the principal citizens, took up the cause they should not be heard in the proceedings, and that John Curry should be put to silence unless he showed sufficient reason to the contrary.⁸ Exaction of mort dues was one of the grievances for which relief was claimed at the Reformation, and it is here seen that half a century before that event it was a subject of discussion among the citizens of Glasgow.⁹

⁶ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 249.

⁷ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 187, 2538.

⁸ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 64, 65.

⁹ In Sir David Lindsay's *Satyre of the Three Estaitis*, the "Pauper" thus expounds the evil effects consequent on the exaction of mort dues:—

"My father was ane auld man, and ane hoir,
And was of age fourscore of yeiris, and moir ;

The two parishes of Cadder and Monkland, adjoining the Barony parish of Glasgow on the north and east, formed part of the subdean's prebend, the cure being served by a perpetual vicar pensioner who employed a curate at each place.¹⁰ When the subdean, Roland Blacader, obtained collation to his benefice, his father, Sir Patrick Blacader of Tulliallan, had stipulated for payment of an annual pension in money and grain from the

And Mald, my mother, was fourscore and fyftene ;
 And with my labour I did thame baith sustene.
 Wee had ane meir, that caryit salt and coill
 And everilk yeir scho brocht us hame ane foill.
 Wee had thre ky, that was baith fat and fair,
 Nane tydier into the toun of Air.
 My father was sa waik of blude and bane,
 That he deit, quharefor my mother maid gret mane.
 Then scho deit, within ane day or two,
 And thare began my povertie and wo.
 Our gude gray meir was baitand on the feild,
 And our lands laird tuke hir for his heryeild.
 The vickar tuke the best cow be the heid,
 Incontinent, quhen my father was deid.
 And quhen the vickar hard tel how that my mother
 Was deid, fra hand, he tuke to him ane uther :
 Then Meg, my wife, did murne baith even and morrow,
 Till at the last scho deit for verie sorrow.
 And quhen the vickar hard tell my wyfe was deid,
 The thrid cow he cleikit be the heid,
 Their upmest clayis, that was of raploch gray,
 The vickar gart his clark bere thame away.
 Quhen all was gane, I nicht make na debeat,
 Bot with my bairns past for till beg my meat.
 Now haif I told yow the black veritie,
 How I am brocht into this miserie."

(*Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay* (1806 edition) ii. pp. 5-7).

Glossary : Baitand, feeding ; baith, both ; blude and bane, blood and bone ; coill, coal ; debeat, delay ; deit, died ; everilk yeir, every or each year ; foill, foal ; gart, caused ; heryeild, fine paid to a landlord on the death of his vassal or tenant ; hoir, hoary ; ky, cows ; mane, moan ; meir, mare ; murn, mourn ; quharefor, wherefore ; quhen, when ; scho, she ; tuke, took ; up-mest clayis, uppermost clothes claimed by the vicar of the parish on the death of a parishioner ; waik, weak.

¹⁰ *Origines Parochiales*, i. pp. 50-53 ; *Old Statistical Account*, vii. p. 269. In 1640 the eastern part of the lands was erected into a separate parish, now called New Monkland. Old Monkland occupies the western part of the original parish.

parish of Cadder. This fact is disclosed by a declaration which the subdean made before a notary and witnesses, on 19th June, 1504, when he avowed that the contract had been extorted from him through force and fear, and he solemnly protested that from that time it should not stand in prejudice or injury to himself, his benefice, or conscience.¹

Cadder was one of several vicarages which were, in 1507, annexed to the College of Glasgow, "for the advantage of the clergy and for cherishing varied and superior learning and the society of learned men therein."² A few months previous to this arrangement, Sir Archibald Calderwood, then vicar of the parishes of Cadder and Monkland, who had for his interest consented to the annexation,³ bequeathed an annuity of eight shillings for a collation to the dean, regents, masters and students of the college, on the day of his obit, and there was also given to the college a cup, called a mazer, and four silver spoons.⁴ Calderwood had "tua places" in Glasgow, one described as opposite the Pedagogy and the other as on the Friar wall, evidently not far from each other, though their precise positions are not clearly indicated. From the vicar's bequest, as extracted from the "Mes bwik of Cadder," and written in the vernacular, it appears that so much of the revenues of the two properties was already applied to religious and charitable purposes. St. Machan's altar got 4s., the master of the almshouse, 30d. and St. Nicholas altar and John of Akynheid, 17s. 1d., all from the property opposite the Pedagogy. By the new foundation the vicar directed to be paid, yearly, for anniversary services, 2 merks to a chaplain, 8s. to the Friars Preachers, and 8s. to the regents and students of the College. One merk was allowed for repairs of buildings. From the Friar wall property, out of which the Friars Preachers already received 12s. yearly, the vicar assigned, in annual

¹ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 88.

³ *Ibid.* No. 248.

² *Ibid.* Nos. 247, 316.

⁴ *Munimenta*, i. p. 43, No. 23.

sums, to the curate of Cadder 10s. "to pray for me daily at his mes and to commend mye saule to the parochinaris," and for other services on "Salmes day" (All Souls day—2nd November); to the curate of Monkland 10s., and to the priest of Our Lady altar 20s. for similar services in Monkland kirk. The kirkmasters of Monkland were to receive and expend 2s. on "mending of twa brygis the quhilkis I biggit." The dean of faculty of Glasgow was to be overseer of these bequests, receiving 2s. yearly for his labours, and eight pennies were to be paid for St. Mungo's bell passing through the town on the afternoon of All Souls day and the day thereafter, calling for prayers for the departed.⁵

It has been stated that Calderwood died on 30th June, 1510, but a protocol sets forth that on 16th January, 1509-10, James Blacader, scholar, appeared in the manse of the subdean and there produced letters by Pope Julius II., granting to him *in commendam* the vicarage of the churches of Cadder and Monkland, to be held by him till he should attain his eighteenth year. Unless, therefore, the Pope's provision of the vicarage was prospective and meant to take effect on a vacancy, Calderwood seems to have resigned the vicarage. Rolland Blacader, the subdean, found James duly qualified and inducted him to the benefice.⁶

⁵ *Reg. Episc.* No. 489; *Munimenta*, i. pp. 43-46, No. 24.

⁶ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 435. On being provided to the vicarage James Blacader appointed Patrick Blacader, archdeacon of Glasgow, and others, as procurators for obtaining possession. (*Ibid.* No. 436.) No subsequent trace of the vicarage is got till after the Reformation when it is stated that the vicarage of Cadder and Monkland was held by Mr. Michael Chisholm, who reported that the revenues were leased for £54 yearly, and that they consisted of eight bolls of meal, sixty tithe lambs, eight stone of wool, with corps presents, etc. (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, iii. p. 681).

CHAPTER XLII

COMMERCIAL PROGRESS—SHIPPING—ACTS OF PARLIAMENT
—BURGESSES—ARCHBISHOPS BLACADER AND BEATON—
REGALITY AND DIOCESAN JURISDICTIONS—KING AND
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS—RENTAL BOOK OF BARONY
LANDS

THE end of the fifteenth century is regarded as marking the close of the Middle Ages and the dawn of a new era for modern Europe. The discovery of America and of a fresh sea route to India enlarged geographical knowledge and gave promise of immense advance in commercial enterprise ; and it may be supposed that other countries besides the leading maritime nations of Spain and Portugal would share to some extent in the impetus thus given to trading activity. Of the prosperous condition of Scotland we have a contemporary account given by Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador to the court of King James. Writing in 1498 this foreigner reported that the country had greatly improved during the king's reign, that commerce was much more considerable than formerly and was continually advancing. There were three principal articles of export, wool, hides and fish, and the customs were substantial and on the increase.¹

¹ *Early Travellers*, pp. 42, 43. Ayala says : " The towns and villages are populous. The houses are good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All the furniture that is used in Italy, Spain, and France, is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages." (*Ibid.* p. 47.)

About this time, and for a considerable period afterwards, Dumbarton was the chief port in the west of Scotland and the most frequented as a naval base. It was the favourite place of departure and arrival to and from France. Expeditions to the Isles were organised at Dumbarton, fleets were fitted out there, and thence they sailed. At the time King James was making strenuous efforts to create a navy one ship was built at Leith, another in Brittany and a third at Dumbarton. There are many other recorded cases of ship-building at Dumbarton, and it long continued to be a harbour for such royal ships as came to the west coast.²

In 1499 Glasgow and Dumbarton entered into an amicable arrangement for the defence and maintenance of each other's privileges. In future each of the two burghs was to have an equal interest in the river Clyde, neither of them pretending privilege or prerogative over the other.³ As subsequent records show this judicious arrangement worked satisfactorily and, subject to various modifications, it was renewed from time to time.

Several of the statutes of James IV. deal with the administration of burgh affairs.⁴ Thus in May, 1491, better observance of the existing Acts relating to weights, measures and customs

² *River Clyde*, pp. 17, 18; *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, iii. and iv. In the year 1512 there are several payments out of the royal treasury for timber and other material used for the building of a galley at Glasgow, a vessel about which, unluckily, there are no further particulars (*Ibid.* iv. p. 290).

³ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 62, 72, 119. In connection with the purchase of wine from a ship, in 1531, Glasgow had sued Dumbarton in the consistorial court, and on this ground the latter burgh alleged that the "band" of 1499 had been broken, but the treasurer of Glasgow protested against his burgh being prejudiced by the proceedings (*Glasg. Prot.* No. 1103). An indenture entered into between the two burghs, in 1590, is on the same lines as the agreement of 1499, and provision is made for the settlement of disputes by six representatives from each who were to meet in the burgh of Renfrew (*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 225-7).

⁴ *Ancient Laws*, ii. pp. 49-57. Magistrates of burghs were required to have these Acts openly proclaimed within their bounds.

was enjoined, directions were given for expenditure of the common good only for the necessary purposes of the burgh and on the advice of the town council and deacons of crafts, and inquiry was to be made regarding such expenditure in the yearly circuits of the great chamberlain. To avoid undue alienation of burgh property, lands, fishings, mills and all yearly revenues were not to be leased for a longer period than three years at a time.

To secure the loyalty of the burgesses both to the nation and to their own rulers it was, by renewal of a similar Act passed in 1457,⁵ ordained that no one dwelling in the burgh should enter into leagues or manrent bonds with any landward person in any risings or convocations, but that every one should obey the king or the burgh authorities in the defence of the realm and for the advantage of the burgh. In the words of the statute the inhabitants were not to "ride na rout in fere of were⁶ with na man bot with the king or with his officiaris or with the lord of the burgh thai dwell in, or with his officiaris."

Practices introduced and dues exacted by craftsmen, with regulations passed by deacons of crafts, had the effect of unduly raising prices and interfering with the completion of work, and in June, 1493, some interesting statutes were passed to remedy such evils. In June, 1496, magistrates of burghs were instructed to fix the prices and quality of victuals, bread and ale, but this may be regarded more as a parliamentary sanction of existing practice than as the introduction of a new system, because from the earliest times of which their proceedings are extant town councils seem to have exercised control in that direction.

An Act passed in March, 1503, providing that all officers, provosts, bailies and others having jurisdiction within burgh should be changed yearly, and that none should hold office except those who "usis merchandice" within the burgh,

⁵ *Ancient Laws*, ii, p. 29.

⁶ Not to assemble and march in warlike array.

may have been strictly observed in Glasgow, except in the case of the provost whose office, as formerly, seems to have been regarded as an appendage to the bailiership of the regality.⁷

Membership in the community of a royal burgh, termed burgesship, originally implied the possession of real property within the burgh, with the privilege of sharing in its trade, responsibility for the administration of its affairs, and liability for the defence of its interests. From an early period the regulation of admission to the burgess roll was in the hands of the community, one of the points on which the great chamberlain inquired on his periodical visitations of a burgh being "gif the balyeis sell the fredome of the burgh till ony without leif of the comunite."⁸ In accordance with the practice here indicated, it was, in the parliament of 1503, ordained that the provost and bailies should not make burgesses without the advice and consent of the great council of the town and that the profit should go to the common good and be spent on common works. As representing the community the Town Council fixed the entry money, which long formed a substantial item in the Common Good assets of royal burghs. Under numerous legislative enactments burgesses of royal burghs possessed the exclusive privilege of trade, both home and foreign, and expenditure in enrolment as a burgess was thus a remunerative investment. In Glasgow the rights of burgesses are recognised in the foundation charter of the burgh. "I will and straitly enjoin," so runs the royal mandate, "that all the burgesses who shall be resident in the foresaid burgh shall justly have my firm peace through my whole land; and I straitly forbid any one unjustly to trouble or molest them or their chattels."⁹ It may safely be assumed that Glasgow burgesses have all along enjoyed the usual privileges of their class, but on account of the extant council records not beginning

⁷ *Antea*, p. 210.

⁸ *Ancient Laws*, i. p. 153.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. p. 4.

at an earlier date than 1573 there is little actual evidence on the subject prior to that date.

On a vacancy in the chaplainry at the altar of St. Kentigern, founded by Sir Walter Stewart of Arthure, on the south side of the nave of the cathedral,¹⁰ occurring in the year 1505-6, Sir Bartholomew Blare, chaplain, was inducted, by delivery of the chalice, missal and ornaments of the altar. It had been provided that on failure of heirs-male of the founder the patronage was to belong to the bailies and community, and though it is not recorded that they nominated the new chaplain they took part in some of the necessary arrangements. The induction took place on 20th February, 1505-6, and two days later Patrick Culquhoun, provost, and two bailies, in name of the whole community of the city, delivered to the inducted chaplain the furnishings and ornaments of the altar, conform to a list which is quoted below as indicating the vast amount of valuable material which must have been stored in the cathedral, assuming that each of its many altars was fitted up and decorated in a somewhat similar manner.¹ The chaplain accepted the custody of the articles delivered to him,

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 45-52.

¹ "First, an image of the Saviour with a pedestal, in a wooden chest, of alabaster; an image of the glorious Virgin, on a table of alabaster; two large chandeliers, and two small brass prikkets; two extinguishers for torches, of tin; two silver phials, one of which wanted 'the strowp'; a chasuble of blue, with the hood, stole, and apparels thereof; a chasuble of dun-coloured 'sathyne,' without the hood, stole, and apparels; a chasuble of burd alexander; two white albs, with an old alb; a missal, with a wooden boss of overlaid work; two curtains of taffety; six coverings for the altar of linen cloth; two amices; a hanging of arras cloth, suspended at a pillar before the altar; a frontal of black velvet, with a frontal hanging to the ground joined to it of arras work, also an arras frontal with a hanging front of worsted reaching to the ground; two cushions of blue and red velvet; a stole with a fillet of Liege cloth of gold—'the luke'; two apparels of red velvet upon the tail, with an apparel of green burd alexander upon the sleeve of an alb; an apparel upon an amice of green burd alexander; a large hanging chandelier before the altar." Burd alexander was a kind of cloth manufactured at Alexandria and other towns in Egypt.

but protested for the replacement of those which were wanting, when they happened to be restored to the altar.²

About four months later Andrew Stewart, son of the founder of the chaplainry, and then archdeacon of Candida Casa, founded another chaplainry at St. Kentigern's altar, endowing it with four tenements on the west side of the High Street.³ Some little time must have been occupied in preliminary details, but on 17th November, 1507, the founder conferred the new chaplainry on Sir James Houstoun, deacon, who latterly came to be well known as subdean and founder of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne in the city. In the instrument recording the appointment the founder takes the opportunity of narrating that the endowments of the chaplainry consisted of goods bestowed by God and collected by his own industry and labour.⁴

Archbishop Blacader died in the end of July, 1508, while on a voyage in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. News of his reported demise probably reached Scotland by October, as James Beaton, then bishop of Galloway,⁵ was at the king's desire chosen by the chapter of Glasgow as his successor, on 9th November, but under reservation of the right and possession of the former archbishop, "if he still survived." All doubt as to the actual vacancy having been removed, the chapter, on 8th April, 1509, complied with letters sent by Pope Julius and received the new archbishop as the father and shepherd of

² *Diocesan Reg. Prot.* Nos. 148-9.

³ *Reg. Episc.* No. 485. Provision was made for the tenements being kept in repair; and on the day of the founder's obit the chaplain was instructed to bestow sixpence each on forty poor fathers and mothers of families, the procurators who distributed the money receiving 3s. for their trouble, and the priest who served the original chaplainry was also to get 3s.

⁴ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 281.

⁵ Archbishop Beaton was the sixth son of John Beaton of Balfour in Fife, his mother being Marjory, daughter of Sir David Boswell of Balmuto. Bethune, Betone and Betoun, are varying forms which this name takes in sixteenth century MSS. "Beaton" is adopted here in conformity with modern usage.

their souls. Similarly cordial welcome was given by the university and clergy and by the bailies in name of the citizens and people of Glasgow, and on 18th April the archbishop himself, sitting in judgment in the chapter house, "for restoring rights and hearing causes," declared that he was prepared to render justice to those who desired to prosecute any ecclesiastical persons of his diocese, repledged from the court of justiciary to the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical liberty.⁶

The jurisdiction here referred to was that exercised in the court of the archbishop's Official, otherwise called the commissary or consistory court. Four months later the archbishop granted a commission to Lord Gray, the king's justiciar, authorising him to hold a court of his (the archbishop's) regality of Glasgow, within the tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the trial of Alexander Likprivik and his accomplices for the murder of George Hamilton within the regality and city of Glasgow, the accomplices being also charged with other crimes. The commission, which was presented by John Stewart of Minto, bailie of the regality and provost of the city, was accepted by Lord Gray and, while the reason for holding the trial in Edinburgh is not stated, the archbishop, who was present, took the precaution of protesting that this should not be to the prejudice of the regality of Glasgow.⁷

The jurisdiction exercised by the Official throughout the diocese was so comprehensive as to leave few subjects beyond its range, but the bailies of the burgh maintained that none of the citizens ought to summon another citizen before a spiritual judge ordinary respecting a matter which could be competently decided before the bailies in the court-house of the burgh. A citizen who was fined in the burgh court for trans-

⁶ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 288-90, 358-60; Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 334 40.

⁷ *Reg. Episc.* No. 488. The trial ended in the conviction and capital sentence of Alexander Lekprevik, but he had a royal pardon. (Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, pp. 62*; 110*.)



SEAL OF JAMES BEATON, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1508-24.

gressing this rule appealed to the court of the Official, and some of the proceedings, including the decision of the burgh court, are recorded in documents dated in December and January, 1510-1. While the magistrates, through their provost, the Earl of Lennox, appear to have adhered to their position, it was declared that the magistrates and citizens would not do anything against the liberty and jurisdiction of Holy Mother Church.⁸

Alexander Stewart, a son of the king, had been provided to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, in 1504, while he was yet a child of about eleven years of age, the actual administration of affairs being entrusted to churchmen of mature experience. On the occasion of a visit to Glasgow by the young archbishop, when in his seventeenth or eighteenth year, the feeling of independence and anxiety for the maintenance of their privileges was manifested by the clergy of Glasgow diocese, as represented by the cathedral chapter. Hearing that the archbishop, who was likewise primate of Scotland and papal legate, was approaching the city, and that the archbishop of Glasgow was going to meet him for the sake of paying homage and obedience, the chancellor, president and chapter of Glasgow, on 21st June, 1510, formally declared that they were to go with the archbishop to please the King, who was to accompany his son, the primate, and also to please the archbishop, and not otherwise; and that they were exempted "both by their ancient and modern privileges, granted by the Roman pontiffs and by kings from doing homage to the primate and to the archbishop of Glasgow and other judges ordinaries whomsoever." They therefore solemnly protested that whatever homage or obedience or courtesy the archbishop of Glasgow, to please

⁸ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 498, 503-4. One of the points of inquiry to be made by the great chamberlain on his circuit of the burghs was "gif ony drawis his nychtbouris in the christiane court fra the secular." (*Ancient Laws*, i. pp. 152-3.)

his Majesty, should render by walking in procession to meet him should not prejudice them or their successors.⁹

Long before the time of Archbishop Beaton all the available lands in the barony of Glasgow which had been at the disposal of his predecessors were put into the possession of rentallers, but the earliest preserved Rental Book, containing the record of changes in ownership, only begins in the first year of his episcopate. After the original grant from the bishop, as lord of the barony, a rental right might be acquired by succession, by purchase from a rentaller, or by marrying the daughter of a rentaller; and a widow was entitled to hold her husband's possession during her viduity. Relaxation of a widow's forfeiture on remarriage was common, and when a right came by succession to a son, and sometimes, though rarely, to a daughter, the liferent of the surviving father or mother was invariably reserved. It was a common practice for one member of a family to be entered as rentaller during the lifetime of both parents, but in that case actual possession was contingent on survivance. The preserved Rental Book embodies holograph entries by the several archbishops, recording in brief form the transmission of rental rights between 1509 and 1570, and thus affords much desirable information regarding the people in the barony and their estates, some of which were continued in direct lines of succession for many generations.¹⁰

⁹ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 468. The privileges of the chapter of Glasgow were confirmed by Archbishop Beaton on 8th July, 1512 (*Reg. Episc.* No. 490).

¹⁰ In 1918 the corporation of Glasgow purchased from the trustees of William Allan Woddrop, recently deceased, part of the estate of Dalmarnock, which had come to him through ancestors and relatives whose successive possession can be traced since 1522 (*Dioc. Reg. Rental Book*, p. 83). The Rental Book was taken to Paris by the second Archbishop Beaton, who continued to enter the names of rentallers therein till 1570. This book and Cuthbert Simson's Protocol Book, 1499-1503, were published by the Grampian Club in 1875 under the title *Diocesan Registers of Glasgow*.

CHAPTER XLIII

EARLS OF LENNOX—MANSES OF GOVAN AND RENFREW—
BATTLE OF FLODDEN—PROVOSTS—DEPUTE—ALTAR OF
ST. CHRISTOPHER—SEAL OF CAUSE TO SKINNERS AND
FURRIERS—DUKE OF ALBANY, GOVERNOR OF
KINGDOM—INSURRECTIONARY MOVEMENTS—SIEGE OF
ARCHBISHOP'S CASTLE

REFERENCE has been made to the negotiations with Duncan, Earl of Lennox, and his daughter Isabella, the Countess of Lennox and Duchess of Albany, regarding the Hospital of Polmadie, and benefactions bestowed by them on the Friars Preachers of Glasgow.¹ The earldom subsequently passed to Sir John Stewart of Dernely, grandson of Elizabeth, the youngest daughter of Earl Duncan. His grandfather and father had likewise taken an interest in the Friars, as in 1419 and 1433, respectively, the latter had obtained from these Dernely lairds yearly pensions of victual and money.² Sir John was created Lord Dernely about the year 1460, and some years afterwards he got possession of the earldom of Lennox. His son Matthew, second earl of the Stewart line, succeeded in 1494, and it was during his time that the intimate relationship existing between the Lennox family and the city and regality of Glasgow is first referred to in a contemporary record. Earl Matthew was provost of the burgh in the year 1509-10, and at

¹ *Antea*, pp. 196, 233.

² *Lib. Coll. etc.* pp. 162, 165.

that time he acquired the Stablegreen property where the Lennox mansion stood till near the end of the century. It is supposed that in 1509-10 the earl must have held the office of bailie of the barony and regality of Glasgow, as in the year 1578 it was stated that his grandson, another Earl Matthew, who had been regent of the kingdom, his father and grandfather, and their "foirbearis, wer kyndlie baillies" of the lordship and regality "and broukit the office thair of past all memory."³

South of the property acquired by Earl Matthew the Stablegreen ground, as already mentioned,⁴ was apparently at one time vested in the administrators of St. Nicholas Hospital. In the year 1507 Sir William Silver, subchanter and master of the hospital, with the approval of the archbishop and the magistrates of Glasgow, conveyed to Mr. John Gibson, prebendary of Renfrew, and his successors, "a tenement belonging to the said hospital, lying in the city of Glasgow, near the palace of the archbishop, on the west side thereof, between the manse of the prebendary of Govan on the south and the lands of Patrick Colquhoun of Glen on the west and north." It was declared that this tenement should be for ever annexed to the prebend of Renfrew, and it thus became the parson's manse, a designation which the property bears in title deeds at the present day. As shown by the description of 1507 the manse of Govan had already been planted to the south of that of Renfrew, but at what date has not been ascertained. On 17th June, 1508, Gibson, as prebendary of Renfrew, complained against Adam Colquhoun, prebendary of Govan, for having appropriated part of his manse, and in presence of the dean and chapter he protested against the encroachment. Both manses paid feuduties to St. Nicholas Hospital, thus showing that Govan manse as well

³ *Privy Council Reg.* ii. p. 697.

⁴ *Antea*, pp. 228-9.

as that of Renfrew had been erected on a site derived from the hospital.⁵

The acquisition of the Lennox mansion or its site is narrated in a protocol dated 20th August, 1509. Adam Colquhoun, parson of Govan, a son of Patrick Colquhoun of Glens, on that day resigned in favour of Matthew earl of Lennox what is described as a tenement in the Stablegreen, situated between the lands of George Colquhoun on the north and the manses of the archdeacon of Teviotdale and of the prebendary of Renfrew on the south, with the garden and pertinents, the price payable by the earl being ten merks, yearly, for church services, on the seller's foundation.⁶

Earl Matthew, bailie of the regality and presumably provost of the city of Glasgow, was likewise sheriff of Dumbarton, and in 1513 he is understood to have led the men of Lennox and the citizens of Glasgow to the field of Flodden, where he was slain. Little information is procurable as to the number of Glasgow people who accompanied the earl; but of one citizen, Michael Flemyng, it is recorded that, three weeks before the fateful day, he gave instructions that if he happened not to return to Glasgow but should die in battle against the English, or elsewhere, an obit should be founded for certain religious

⁵ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* Nos. 235-8, 323; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3531; *Chiefs of Colquhoun*, ii. p. 260; *Maxwells of Pollok*, i. p. 179; *Rottenrow (Regality Club)*, iii. p. 57. In the cited protocol, No. 237 (26th May, 1507), Patrick Colquhoun is designated "prepositus Glasguensis pro tempore." See remarks as to his relationship with the Earl of Lennox and as to the provosts and provost-deputes, *antea*, p. 229, and *postea*, pp. 319-20.

⁶ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 384. In this place the earls of Lennox had for many years their town residence. In consequence of the forfeiture of the second Earl Matthew in 1545 the mansion reverted to the crown, and it was bestowed on John Hammylton of Neilisland in 1550, and on John Stuart, commendator of Coldingham, in 1556. With the rescinding of the forfeiture in 1564 it is understood that the mansion was restored to the earl, whose son, the ill-fated Darnley, probably occupied it in the month preceding his murder at Kirk of Field in Edinburgh (*Glasg. Chart.* i. p. dxxxiv.). About the year 1584-5 the grounds were broken up and disposed of in building lots (*Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2666-7, 2673-4).

services to be celebrated in the cathedral yearly.⁷ But Flemyng had better luck, as he lived to return to the city, and, on 29th November, 1514, he and his mother founded an obit in the church of the Friars Preachers.⁸

Glasgow people may not have had a very prominent share in the active preparations for the expedition to England, but there was one incident which brought the military movements vividly under their notice. The Irish chieftain O'Donnell was in Scotland in July, 1513, about which time there was some idea of creating a diversion in Ireland which might occupy the attention of the English King. A big cannon drawn by thirty-six horses and accompanied by proportionate ammunition was sent from Edinburgh to Glasgow, probably with the intention of being shipped to Ireland, and the force included seven quarriers "for the undermyning of walls." In addition to this cavalcade sixteen "tume" or empty carts were sent for bringing home wine expected to be landed on the west coast from France. But owing to a change of plans, it being perhaps found that artillery could not be spared at that time, the guns never got to Ireland. On 14th August more carts were despatched to Glasgow to bring them home again, a journey which it took ten days to accomplish.⁹

After the battle, which was fought on 9th September, we have two or three contemporary notices incidentally connected with it. On 7th December Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, relict of the Earl of Lennox, in presence of notaries and witnesses, assembled in her Stablegreen residence, made arrangements with her son and heir as to the disposal of revenues from her deceased husband's estate;¹⁰ and on 24th January a meeting of the magistrates, held in the court-house of the burgh, was attended by John Schaw, "provost-depute," the first occasion

⁷ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 651.

⁸ *Lib. Coll. etc.* pp. 211-2.

⁹ *Lord High Treasurer's Accounts*, iv. pp. lxxx-i. 527.

¹⁰ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 659.

on which that designation has been noticed on record.¹ Unluckily Cuthbert Symson's protocol book ends in 1513, and its only other reference to affairs connected with Flodden is the statement that "King James V., King of Scots, was crowned in the castle of Stirling by James, archbishop of Glasgow, 21st September, 1513."² The other Scottish archbishop had fallen with his father on the field of battle.

During the year of his tenure of the provostship, John Schaw, with consent of Marion Crawford, his spouse, founded a chaplainry at the altar of St. Christopher, on the south side of the nave of the cathedral, and for its maintenance he assigned property acquired by him "by labor and purchase, through the divine favour." These endowments consisted of several lands and buildings situated in various crofts and streets throughout the city. The founder provided that after he had "departed from this vale of tears" the magistrates and community were to be patrons of the chaplainry which was to be bestowed only upon the son of a burghess of the city, "learned and meet for the office." On the "day" of the founder's "obit," which, by an unusual stipulation was conventionally fixed for 13th June, yearly, the chaplain was to give twelve pennies each to twelve priests to celebrate mass for his soul, at the altar, together with the obsequies of the dead, on the night preceding, and the ringing of St. Kentigern's bell. The foundation charter is dated 30th May, 1514, and on the following day, in presence of the two bailies of the city and the burgesses, assembled in the burgh court-house, "in a great number and overflowing multitude," John Scot, Schaw's nephew and apparent heir, appeared and solemnly ratified the endowment. The first chaplain was John Schaw, a natural son of the founder, he having been appointed by his father with concurrence of the bailies and community as patrons.³

¹ *Dioc. Reg. Prot.* No. 255.

² *Ibid.* No. 663.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 101; ii. p. 458. In the foundation charter Schaw is designated "provost" and in the ratification "provost-depute."

Two years after the date of Provost Schaw's foundation the skinners and furriers of the city applied to the town council for confirmation of their rules as a society, one of the declared purposes being augmentation of divine service at the altar of St. Christopher, their patron.⁴ Complying with this desire the provost, magistrates and council, with consent of the archbishop, granted to the Skinner and Furrier Crafts a seal of cause on 28th May, 1516, this being, so far as can be ascertained, the first example of such procedure in Glasgow. Though the skinners and furriers, as well as most of the other craftsmen of the city, must have been formed into separate societies, under various sorts of voluntary arrangements, before this time, it is not improbable that this was the first occasion on which the town council and the archbishop had interposed their

It is doubtful if any distinctive meaning was attached to the alternative designation. It was only on about half-a-dozen occasions, when the names of John Schaw and George Colquhoun appear, between 1514 and 1520, that the term *depute* occurs, and once it is omitted. Both Schaw and Colquhoun are likely to have been bailies-depute of the regality and a similar affix may have inadvertently crept into their civic designation. In no year when a provost-depute is named is there mention of another person holding the office of provost. Perhaps the expression provost-depute was used in the same sense as sheriff-depute, the designation of the principal sheriff of a shire.

After the Reformation the town council, as patrons, devoted the revenues of St. Christopher's chaplainry to educational or charitable purposes. On the decease of Sir Andrew Walker, the last pre-Reformation chaplain, St. Christopher's chaplainry was given to Sir James Fleming on condition of his restoring St. Mungo's chaplainry then held by him. Court proceedings were resorted to for enforcement of this arrangement, but these ended with Fleming's resigning the former chaplainry. St. Christopher's being thus again at their disposal, the town council, in March, 1575-6, gave it to Michael Wilson, son of James Wilson, mason, for the space of seven years "providing he remane at the scholes in this toun." Eight months before the expiry of the seventh year Michael Wilson resigned in favour of John Wilson, his brother, "beand blinde," and to this brother the chaplainry was bestowed for the space of other seven years. (*Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 19, 30, 48, 96.)

⁴ In 1450-1, the skinners of Edinburgh undertook to give their support to the chaplain and altar of St. Christopher in the church of St. Giles, and their seal of cause, obtained in 1474, provided for contributions to that altar. *Edin. Rec.* i. pp. 9, 28.



JAMES V. AND MARY OF GUISE.

authority in the constitution of a craft incorporation ; and if this be so it may further be surmised that the prospect of augmenting the revenues of the new chaplainry, of which the town council were to be the patrons, acted as an inducement for adopting such a course at that particular time.

Craft guilds or fraternities are known to have flourished in many European countries long before the date at which our limited knowledge enables us to trace them in Scotland. From the tenth century onwards, associations adapted to various social and political purposes are traced, and so far as can be gleaned from the scant glimpses of their inner life they seem to have existed almost entirely for secular purposes. But from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when knowledge on the subject is fuller and more accessible the religious element becomes conspicuous, though in this country at least the regulation of trade and industry remained the leading object of these confederations.

As regards Scotland an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of James I., on his return from English captivity, seems to indicate that bodies of craftsmen had been organised by that time ; and for their more effective regulation it was enacted that in each town, and of each "sindry" craft therein, a wise man should be chosen by the majority of that craft, "and be the counsall of the officiaris of the toune," to be "dekyn," with power to try all made work, so that the King's lieges should not be defrauded and injured in future, "as thai have been in tyme bygane, through untrew men of crafts."⁵ Subsequent statutes likewise deal with the appointment of deacons, and more than once the power to choose them was temporarily withdrawn, but with such exceptions the practice of appointing deacons has been continuously observed.

Associations of craftsmen could thus be organised and

⁵ *Ancient Laws*, ii. p. 5 (12th March, 1424).

ruled by deacons under the general law, though in course of time it came to be the invariable practice in Scotland for each body to be constituted under special regulations sanctioned by the town council of the burgh, and expressed in a writing which was sometimes called a "Letter of Dekynheid," but more commonly a "seal of cause," on account of its being authenticated by the appending of the seal of cause of the burgh. In this country seals of cause are believed not to have come into use before the fifteenth century, so there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that the practice had not been introduced into Glasgow before 1516.

Neither the formation nor the efficient working of an associated body of craftsmen could be satisfactorily undertaken without the services of a qualified clerk, especially as it seems to have been the practice of such societies to keep records of their official proceedings. Such clerical duties would naturally devolve on a priest and it may be assumed that in most cases the craftsmen's choice would fall on the chaplain serving at their altar. When confirmation of a craft's rules became desirable the preliminary supplication to the town council would usually be framed by the priest acting as clerk and chaplain, a circumstance which was likely to ensure due prominence being given to altaraige claims. But by the beginning of the sixteenth century there was not much latitude allowed in that procedure, the seals of cause being very much of an established formal type and, as expressed in the petition of the skinnners and furriers, "according to the lawis and consuetis of grete townis of honour of uther realmes and provinces."

The seal of cause of 1516 was granted on the supplication of the "kirkmaisters and the laif of the maisteris of skynner craft and furrier craft," being "tua craftis and unyte ourself in cherite togidder," which supplication was presented to the provost, bailies, council and community of the burgh "sittand

in jugement, counsalie gaderit." The kirkmaster, a name primarily applied to the official having charge of altaraige arrangements, sometimes acted as deacon, and the reference here to "kirkmaisters" shows that previous to 1516 the skimmers and furriers had each an official bearing that designation.

Besides the kirkmasters, who are not named, eleven masters of craft, all named, joined in the desire that, for loving of Almighty God, the honour of the realm, the worship and profit of this good town, the profit of the King's lieges, and for augmentation of divine service at the altar of St. Christopher, within the metropolitan kirk, the statutes and rules set down by them should be authorised and put in force. Briefly stated these were to the following effect: (1) No member of the crafts to set up booth unless found qualified and admitted by the town council and sworn masters of the crafts, and each to pay, if a freeman's son 5s., and if an unfreeman's son 10s., towards the repair and upholding of divine service at the altar. (2) No master of craft to hire or reset any other master's prentice or freeman, under penalty of a pound of wax candles to the altar and punishment at the discretion of the town council. (3) Each master holding booth within burgh to pay a weekly penny towards the repair and adornment of the altar and sustenance of the priest. (4) No false stuff to be sold, under the penalty of half a pound of wax to the altar, and the false stuff to be forfeited. (5) Provision made for collection of the dues and upholding of divine service. As craved by the supplicants, the magistrates and community, with the approbation of the archbishop, ratified the rules, and the common seal of the burgh and round seal of the archbishop were appended to the writing.⁶

⁶ *Annals of the Skinners Craft* (1875), pp. 114-8; facsimile of seal of cause, the original of which is in the possession of the Incorporation of Skinners.

Before marching to England James IV. had named Queen Margaret as regent, associating with her the archbishop of Glasgow and several noblemen. Following out these instructions the Scottish estates met and appointed Queen Margaret guardian of her son and regent of the kingdom, while the archbishop of Glasgow, holding the office of chancellor, and the earls of Huntly, Angus and Arran were associated with her as councillors. But in the absence of central control, and with not a few members of the nobility more concerned about their own aggrandizement than the common weal, rivalry and strife soon manifested themselves, and the marriage of Margaret to the Earl of Angus, in the first year of her widowhood, brought on a crisis. A new regent became a necessity, and the choice lay between two noblemen, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Arran. John, fourth duke of Albany, was son of the younger brother of James III., and, after the young King, next heir to the crown. James, second lord Hamilton and first earl of Arran, was the son of that Lord Hamilton whose donations to Glasgow college and benefactions for religious purposes in the city have already been noticed. The earl's mother was Princess Mary, eldest daughter of King James II., and he and Albany were thus in the same degree of kin to the King, though the earl's descent being through a daughter, his claim ranked second to that of the duke, whose descent was through a son of James II. Albany had been brought up in France, where his chief estates lay, and he was unacquainted with the Scottish customs and people; but, through the influence of Bishop Elphinstone and others, he was chosen regent. Before Albany's arrival in this country the Earl of Arran, with his nephew, John, Earl of Lennox (who had succeeded his father in 1513), and the Earl of Glencairn, had taken up arms against the Earl of Angus and his party. On a tempestuous night in December, 1514, Lennox seized the castle of Dumbarton, which was then regarded as

the key of the west, and Erskine, the governor, who held it for the Queen, was expelled.

On 18th May, 1515, the Duke of Albany arrived at Dumbarton with a squadron of eight ships laden with ammunition and warlike stores. He was eagerly welcomed by a concourse of the nobles and gentry of the western shires, received a like cordial reception in the capital, and at a parliament held in July was installed in the office of regent and proclaimed Governor and Protector of the kingdom. Part of the imported artillery and stores seems to have been brought by water from Dumbarton to Glasgow, whence it was removed to Edinburgh and other places. In July payments were made by the King's treasurer for bringing the guns and other pieces of artillery out of the water at the "brig" and storing them at "Blakfreris." Between August and October, men, horses and carts, in considerable numbers, were from time to time employed in the transfer of the material, and even so far on as 4th February, 1515-6, there was a payment of £72 18s. for carts and carriage of artillery out of Glasgow and Dumbarton to Edinburgh.

About this time the Earl of Arran had entered into a league with Lennox, Glencairn, and other barons, for the purpose of depriving Albany of the regency.⁷ It was perhaps in apprehension of these disturbing times that Archbishop Beaton fortified his episcopal palace by enclosing it with a strong wall about fifteen feet high towards the east, south and west, with a bastion on the one corner and a tower on the other, fronting Castle Street. The tower must have been of considerable strength so long as it was maintained in good condition, for even after it had stood for nearly three centuries, and had latterly fallen into decay through neglect, it still showed an imposing exterior at the time of its removal to make

⁷ *Treas. Accounts*, v. pp. 16-18, 30, 38, 68, 71.

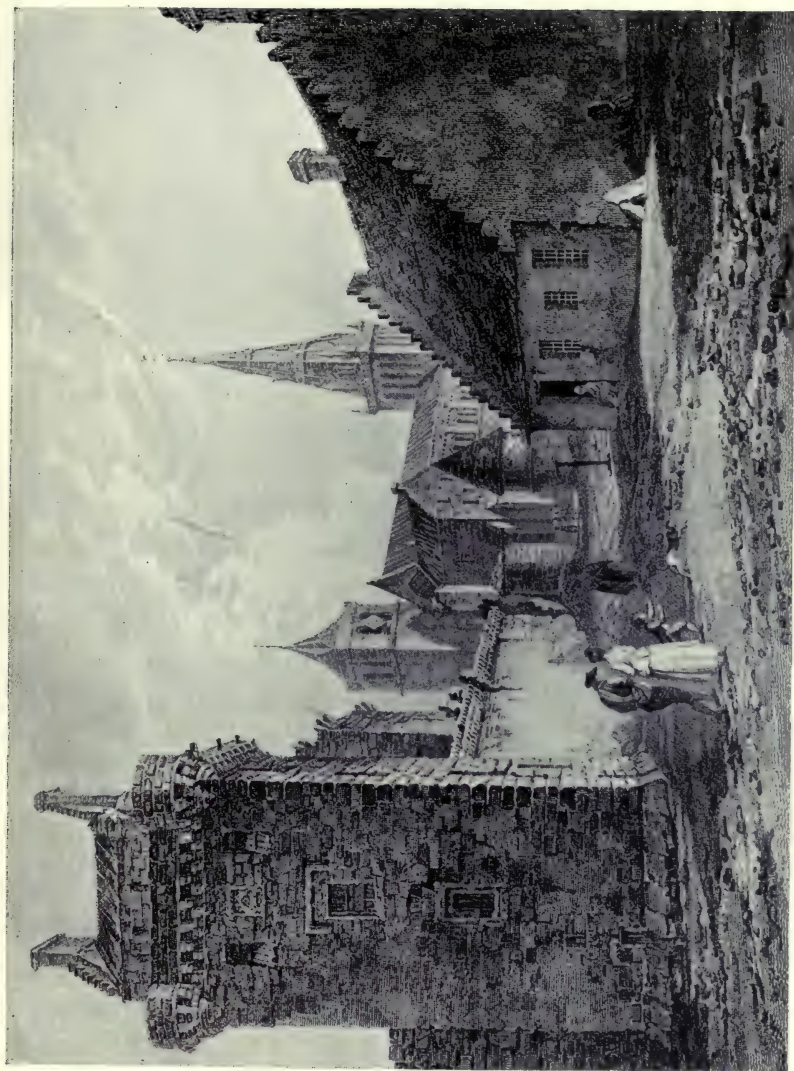
way for the erection of the Royal Infirmary about the year 1792.⁸

In course of the insurrectionary movements of the western lords, the castle of Glasgow was besieged and taken from the archbishop by John Mure of Caldwell, who had joined the league of the Earls of Lennox, Arran and Glencairn. The assailants obtained access to the castle on 20th February, 1515-6, but the regent marched to the city with a strong body of troops and recovered possession for the archbishop. Letters were sent to the sheriffs and bailies of shires and burghs, summoning the lieges to convene at Glasgow, artillery drawn by oxen was brought from Falkirk, and the Regent himself was in Glasgow on 21st February.⁹ Through the archbishop's mediation a settlement was adjusted at this time and Arran made his peace with the Governor on 7th March. To judge from a series of "respites," or letters of remission, granted by the King and his council between 1st July, 1526, and 29th May, 1527, and which seem to refer either to this rising or to that which was suppressed in the end of 1515, the proceedings of these months must have been of a somewhat formidable character. By the first of the letters of remission the Earl of Arran, and others to the number of five or six thousand, conform to a list to be verified by him, were respited "for the treasonable arraying of batell, insurrection and feilding, aganis Johne, duke of Albany, etc., tutour to the Kingis grace, protectour and governour of his realme, cumand with the kingis autoritie and his banner being displayit for the tyme at Kittycrocehill, besyde Glasgw." All the letters of remission referred to mention the array at Kittycrocehill,¹⁰ but though there are several places in the vicinity of Glasgow called Cross-

⁸ *Trans. Arch. Soc.* (Macgregor), 2nd series, i. p. 232; *Medieval Glasgow*, p. 242.

⁹ *L. H. T. Accounts*, v. p. 73.

¹⁰ *Reg. Sec. Sig.* i. Nos. 3409, 3440, 3728, 3765, 3787.



THE BISHOP'S CASTLE.



hill none of these has the prefix "Kitty," and consequently the precise locality of the military display has not been identified. There is a place called Kittymuir in the parish of Stonehouse and situated a few miles from Hamilton Castle, which castle Albany besieged and took in his military operations against the Earl of Arran in 1515. Perhaps it was this locality, though incorrectly described as "besyde" Glasgow, which was the scene of the rebellious array referred to in the letters of remission.

The facts connected with the occupation of the archbishop's castle by the insurgents are narrated in a decree by the lords of council, dated 4th March, 1517-8. The archbishop had raised an action against Mure "for the wranguis and violent ejection and furthputting of his servands out of his castell and palace of Glasgow and taking of the samyn fra them ; and for the wranguis spoliation, intrometting, away taking and withholding fra the said maist reverend fader " of certain goods, such as beds, clothing, jewels, utensils, provisions, ammunition and arms, all specified in detail ; " and for the wranguis destruction of his said castell and place, breking down of the samyn with artalzary and utherwais." The lords ordained Mure to restore to the archbishop what had been taken away or to pay the value.¹

¹ *Caldwell Papers*, i. pp. 54-58 ; *Trans. Arch. Soc.* (Macgregor), pp. 232-6 ; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. p. dxxxv. There was also an action at the instance of the governor of the kingdom and the porter of the castle resulting in an order by the lords of council for the restoration of goods and money abstracted from the porter's lodge at the castle. *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. p. 12, No. 307 [45b]. Through the m'sreading of a passage in Buchanan's *History of Scotland* Macgregor supposed that there was another attack on the Bishop's castle in 1517, but the siege referred to by Buchanan was that of February 1515-16.

CHAPTER XLIV

ARCHBISHOPS BEATON AND DUNBAR—CUSTODY OF THE KING—MERCHANTS AND FOREIGN TRADE—CLYDE SHIPPING—SPREAD OF “HERESIES”—JOHN MAJOR, THEOLOGIAN AND HISTORIAN—PREBEND OF BARLANARK OR PROVAN—KING’S VISITS TO GLASGOW—COURT OF SESSION

DURING the time Albany remained in France, from 1516 to 1521, Archbishop Beaton was one of the viceregents of the kingdom, but between two of his colleagues, the earls of Angus and Arran, there was a continuous feud, in which the archbishop usually sided with the latter. One of the contentions between the two earls culminated in the famous encounter in the streets of Edinburgh, known as “Cleanse the Causeway,” that scuffle being preceded by the dramatic interview between Bishop Gavin of Dunkeld and Archbishop Beaton, when the latter’s armour-clad conscience “clattered.” This was in April, 1520. The duke’s resumption of personal government, from November, 1521, till October in the following year, effected a diversion in factional rivalry. Angus fled to England, and those in this country who favoured France gained the ascendancy. Harassing incursions into the Border country were made by the English during Albany’s second absence, which lasted eleven months. Even with the aid of French auxiliaries, brought with him on his return, the Lord Governor was not very successful in repelling the enemy, while attempted negotiations

were likewise unsatisfactory. On 20th May, 1524, Albany finally left the country, and for a short time thereafter the charge of national affairs mainly devolved on Archbishop Beaton.

By this time Beaton had left Glasgow, and was Archbishop of St. Andrews and chancellor of the kingdom. Though he had been translated to his new see on 10th October, 1522, the archbishopric of Glasgow remained vacant till 8th July, 1524, when Gavin Dunbar, son of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, and nephew of Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, was installed by Pope Clement VII. In the end of the previous year Archbishop Beaton had been writing to Rome, in evident dread that in the appointment of the future archbishop the Pope might exempt him from the primatial and legatine jurisdiction of the see of St. Andrews. His fears were justified, for on the day of Dunbar's provision to the archbishopric the Pope granted to him and his suffragans as full an exemption from the jurisdiction of St. Andrews as had been enjoyed by his two predecessors.¹ On 27th September, 1524, Archbishop Dunbar obtained from the King a Precept admitting him to the temporalities of the see.²

Early in 1525 an agreement was come to between the Queen and the nobility by which the government of the country was

¹ Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 344-5. It is believed that, notwithstanding the delay in completing the appointment, Gavin Dunbar had, through Albany's influence, been elected archbishop in 1523 (*Ibid.* p. 344). It appears that after this the king, through pressure from Beaton, represented to the Pope that the bull of 8th July, 1524, was to the primate's prejudice and great loss, and Clement had thereupon ordained that Dunbar's privileges and exemptions should not extend to the rights of the archbishop of St. Andrews so far as they arose from his being primate and legate. But on the Pope, at a later date, being made better acquainted with the circumstances he, on 21st September, 1531, restored to Dunbar all the immunities enjoyed by his predecessors Blacader and Beaton (*Reg. Episc.* No. 499). A few months before this time (7th February, 1530-1) Henry Wemyss, "bishop of Candida Casa and of the Chapel Royal of Stirling," offered obedience and reverence to Archbishop Dunbar as became the duty of a suffragan to his metropolitan (*Ibid.* No. 498).

² *Reg. Sec. Sig.* i. No. 3298.

entrusted to a secret council consisting of the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, the Bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane, and the lords Angus, Arran, Argyle and Lennox. The Queen was to be perpetual president and to have a casting vote. The custody of the King was to be given to the peers in rotation, and at the outset of this arrangement he was to remain with the archbishop of Glasgow and Angus until November. In 1526 the King completed his fourteenth year, and parliament passed an ordinance to the effect that as he was then of major age the royal prerogative was to be assumed by him and all other authority formerly derived from him was annulled. This declaration was issued at a time when the custody of the King had again come into the hands of Angus ; and, at the time when he should have passed it on to other lords, he was strong enough to refuse and to oppose by a superior force of arms all attempts to secure the King's release.³ In September, 1526, John, third earl of Lennox, lost his life in an attempt to rescue his sovereign from the Angus restraint, and it was not till nearly two years later that James obtained his freedom, an immediate sequel to which was the wholesale forfeiture of the Douglasses and all their kin.

While the country was disturbed both by outside aggression and internal dissension, the merchant class were not remiss in their efforts for the extension of foreign trade. So far back as the middle of the fourteenth century Scottish burgesses and merchants had a contract with the burgesses and merchants of Middleburgh in the Netherlands, where the staple port for the disposal of merchandise from this country had been established.⁴ In the beginning of the fifteenth century Bruges was the recognised staple of the Scottish trade in the Netherlands, but in consequence of the marriage of Mary, daughter of James I., to the lord of Campvere in Zeland, in 1444, the staple was

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, xv. p. xlvi.

⁴ *Conv. Rec.* i. p. 537.



SEAL OF GAVIN DUNBAR, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW, 1524-27.



changed to his state, where it continued till 1539.⁵ But these arrangements do not seem to have been always continuous. On 27th February, 1519-20, the Lord Governor represented to the town council and community of the merchants of Edinburgh that he thought it necessary there should be a staple in Flanders where the Scots merchants might resort, and he asked which of the three towns, Campvere, Middleburgh or Bruges, they preferred as most convenient for the purpose. The choice fell on Middleburgh.⁶

The proceedings just referred to seem to be those which were adversely discussed in parliament in 1526, when it was alleged that commissioners had been appointed by the king, on the advice of the Duke of Albany and lords of council, with consent of the principal mercantile towns of the realm viz., Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Stirling, St. Andrews, Perth and Dundee, to carry through the requisite negotiations. After inquiry, and on the ground that the "pretendit contract" had been obtained by "circumvention of our Soverane Lord, and in his les ayge," and that such was contrary to the commonweal of the realm and detrimental to the burghs and their merchants, parliament annulled the arrangement for having the staple and residence of the Scottish merchants at Middleburgh and granted full licence and liberty to all merchants to pass with their ships and goods where they thought most profitable and where they could be best treated in future. For obtaining this privilege money had been promised to the King, and the amount was to be raised by taxation laid on each burgh.⁷

⁵ *Halyburton's Ledger*, pp. liv, lv. In 1539 the staple was removed to Antwerp, and two years later to Middleburgh, but it soon returned to Campvere, and with short interruptions it remained at that port till the French Revolution (*Ibid.*; *Edin. Rec.* ii. pp. 97, 105).

⁶ *Edin. Rec.* i. p. 195.

⁷ *Ancient Laws*, ii. pp. 58-65. Agreements with staple ports thus left merchants free to choose their own markets, but in the event of the staple port being preferred merchants had the benefit of whatever privileges it afforded (*Edin. Rec.* ii. pp. 106-7).

On account of their situation the Clyde burghs could not derive much if any benefit from the staple ports in the Netherlands and they must always have had freedom to trade elsewhere, ports on the west coast of France being probably the most favoured. A reference to such trading occurs in a document dated 18th May, 1524, being the record of a conference of representatives of Dumbarton and Renfrew, held in the parish kirk of Kilpatrick, under the arrangement between these burghs, in 1424, for settling any disputes that might arise.⁸ Renfrew now complained that Dumbarton had made a bond and federation with Glasgow, apparently that of 1499,⁹ without their leave, and had intromitted with a French ship within the bounds and freedom of Renfrew; but the discussion did not result in any definite settlement.¹⁰

An allusion to one of the sea dangers of the time is contained in a notary's protocol, dated 2nd February, 1525-6, where authority is given to a citizen of Glasgow, and others, to appear before the regent of England and obtain restoration of gold, silver, hides, woollen cloth and pickled salmon, which had been captured off the coast of England, by Englishmen and Spaniards on the ship *James* of Dumbarton, belonging to the earl of Arran.¹

Between 1494, when the Lollards of Kyle were brought before James IV.² till about thirty years later, when the doctrines of Luther found their way into Scotland, there is little or no notice of the spread of opinions contrary to the teaching of the church. But, in 1525, to avoid the dangers of "the dampnable opunyeounes of heresy spred in diverse cuntreis, be the heretik Luthere and his discipillis," parliament, on 17th July in that year, ordained that no strangers arriving with their ships, within any port of the realm, should bring

⁸ *Antea*, p. 245.

⁹ *Antea*, p. 246.

¹⁰ Irving's *Dumbartonshire*, (1857) pp. 155-7.

¹ *River Clyde*, p. 20.

² *Antea*, pp. 268-70.

with them any of Luther's books or works, or rehearse his heresies or opinions, except for refutation, and all other persons propagating such opinions were to be suitably punished.³ But these repressive measures had the opposite of the desired effect, and according to John Knox it was the teaching and death of Patrick Hamilton, who had been a pupil of John Major, while in Glasgow,⁴ and who was burnt at St. Andrews, for heresy, in the beginning of the year 1527-8, that decisively marked the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland.⁵

John Major, theologian and historian, was principal regent of Glasgow college during the last four or five years of Beaton's tenure of the archbishopric. Returning from Paris and coming to Glasgow when about to enter the fiftieth year of his age, Major had attained a great reputation as a scholar and teacher and had made considerable progress with his *History of Greater Britain*. On his admission to the university in November, 1518, he was designated a Doctor of Paris, principal regent of the college and pedagogy of Glasgow, canon of the Chapel Royal and vicar of Dunlop. Major is referred to as treasurer of the Chapel Royal in 1520 and also in 1522. On 9th June of the latter year he removed to St. Andrews.⁶ While in Glasgow Major was active in the general business of the university as well as in teaching, his *History* was published in 1521, and he could scarcely have had much time to devote to his treasurership or vicarage, his chief official connection with which being probably concerned with the emoluments which seem to have come to him as college endowments. The name John Knox occurs in a list of students who were incorporated at Glasgow in 1522, and it has generally been assumed that the great Reformer was a student at Glasgow. That Knox

³ *Ancient Laws*, ii. p. 58.

⁴ Major's *History*, p. lxxi.

⁵ *Works of John Knox*, i. p. 36.

⁶ *History of Chapel Royal* (Grampian Club), pp. liv. 97.

studied under Major all ancient accounts agree, but it seems doubtful whether that was at Glasgow or St. Andrews.⁷

In the first year of Beaton's archbishopric King James IV. continued to the regents, students and officers of the university the exemption from taxes and impositions granted by his predecessors. The letter, under the king's privy seal, dated at Edinburgh on 7th June, 1509, is general in its terms and refers to the previous and more specific charters of exemption for particulars. In Beaton's last year in Glasgow a tax had been imposed on beneficed persons for the defence of the kingdom and the members of the university were relieved of payment as reported to a meeting on 24th May, 1522, at which John Major was present. Four days before, an ample Letter of Exemption had been granted by James V., with advice of the Duke of Albany, whereby all previous exemptions by royalty were specifically confirmed and all taxations, exactions, and other charges against the rectors, deans of faculty, procurators, regents, masters and scholars of the university were discharged.⁸

The few recorded grants of the canonry of Barlanark came direct from the popes, though with regard to the lands forming the prebend, King Robert I. authorised their being held by the canon with special privileges which were eventually construed as baronial.⁹ In the year 1431 there

⁷ *Countts*, p. 45. In his *History* Major refers to Glasgow as "the seat of an archbishop, and of a university, poorly endowed and not rich in scholars. This notwithstanding, the church possesses prebends many and fat; but in Scotland such revenues are enjoyed *in absentia* just as they would be *in praesentia*, a custom which I hold to be destitute at once of justice and common sense. . . . St. Andrews possesses the first university; Aberdeen is serviceable to the northern inhabitants, and Glasgow to those of the west and south." In another passage Major refers to Glasgow cathedral as "second to no church in Scotland for its beauty, the multitude of its canons, and the wealth of its endowments." (Major's *History*, pp. lxvi-vii, 28, 29, 86.)

⁸ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pp. ii. pp. 100, 106; *Munimenta*, ii. p. 143; Major's *History*, p. lxxvii.

⁹ *Antea*, p. 149.

was assigned to Walter Stewart, canon of Glasgow, bachelor of canon law, the deanery of Moray which Pope Eugenius IV. authorised him to hold along with "his canonries and prebends of Barlanark in Glasgow and Balhelvi in Aberdeen," the combined value of which benefices did not exceed £100 sterling.¹⁰ Several benefices held by Robert de Lawedre, canon of Glasgow, in the year 1447, included the prebend of Cardross and "a yearly provision for life of £6 sterling, assigned to him by papal authority on the fruits, etc., of the prebend of Barlanark, in the church of Glasgow."¹

Bishop Blacader obtained from the Pope authority to annex the prebend of Barlanark to the bishopric, but by a document dated 19th September, 1487, the bishop not only promised to preserve the liberties and privileges of the chapter but he also renounced all claim to the prebend and to its union and incorporation with the bishopric.²

When next traced the prebend was in the possession of one William Balze (*i.e.* Balye or Baillie). On 13th February, 1506-7, King James IV. granted to James Bailzie of Carfyn, "bruther to Mr. William Bailzie, prebender of Barlanrik," a respite relating to "his lands and lordship of Provand." Under this grant James Bailzie, Alexander, his son, and "also

¹⁰ *Papal Reg.* viii. p. 411. In 1441, during the reign of James II. his secretary, William Turnbull, sometime a prebendary and afterwards bishop of Glasgow, is designated in charters "dominus prebende," *i.e.* lord or laird of the prebend, and this is understood as indicating that he held the prebend of Barlanark. The Latin *prebenda* is equivalent to the English *provender*, and appears in the Scottish vernacular as *Provand*. So far as is known Turnbull did not possess the prebend during his episcopate. (*Keith*, p. 251; *Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. No. 264-5, 267-8.)

¹ *Papal Reg.* x. p. 310.

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 450. Connected with his translation from Aberdeen to Glasgow, Bishop Blacader had incurred heavy debts, and to assist in their liquidation he, on 31st March, 1487, obtained a papal bull granting certain subsidies, with the half of the first fruits of all benefices in his diocese; (*Dowdens' Bishops*, pp. 331-2) and the annexation of the prebend of Barlanark may at the same time have been authorised.

Mr. Williame's servants " were to be free from appearing in justice courts within the regality of Glasgow for a year.³ About sixteen years later William Bailzie, reserving the revenues during his own lifetime, resigned the prebend in favour of Thomas Balze, canon of Glasgow. By a Bull or Letters of Provision dated 3rd February, 1522-3, in which William Balze is designated " clerk, lately canon of Glasgow," Pope Adrian VI. ratified this arrangement and bestowed the prebend on Thomas Balze during his survivorship of William.⁴

After the secret council had taken Albany's place in the government of the country, the comptroller reported to parliament the necessity of economy in the administration of the King's revenues and the upkeep of his household ; and, though household accounts are known to have been kept from 1508. it is probably in consequence of the regulations adopted in 1525 that we have the extant series beginning at the latter date. All earlier accounts have disappeared. The books are in substance journals of the cost of provisioning the royal table, the expenditure being classified under three heads, pantry, buttery and kitchen, and interesting particulars regarding the movements of royalty are chronicled. One of the King's visits to Glasgow was made on 15th October, 1525, when he and his council, arriving from Stirling, were entertained by Archbishop Dunbar the whole of that day and part of the next. After dinner the royal party rode to the palace of Enchenzean (Inchinnan), the residence of the Earl of Lennox, where they had supper. The earl entertained the

³ *Reg. Sec. Sig.* i. No. 1429.

⁴ *Regality Club*, i. p. 74, where a facsimile and translation of the bull are given ; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 350, No. 755. The Bull was one of the many documents which have been abstracted from the city's archives since the Inventory of Writs was compiled in 1696, but fortunately it was deposited in the Hunterian Museum where it is accessible. In 1549 the prebend was conferred on " Mr. William Baillie," presumably a relative of the first William (*Glasg. Memorials*, p. 210).

King and his retinue till after dinner on 17th, when they left for Dumbarton. Coming from Stirling to Glasgow on 14th December, 1529, the King, two days thereafter, was at Cumbernauld, perhaps on his way back to Stirling. On 25th January, 1529-30, the King rode from Stirling to Glasgow. There the purchases for the royal table were 160 loaves, 30s.; 40 gallons of ale, 53s. 4d.; 3 carcasses of beeves, £4 10s.; 4 quarters of a calf, 20s.; 16 sheep, £5 6s. 8d.; 4 ox tongues and 2 lbs. of suet, 3s. The King, on his return from Ayr, was again in Glasgow on 4th February, when he gave to the Friars 96 loaves and four gallons of ale. On 11th June, 1533, he passed through Glasgow, on his way from Stirling, making a pilgrimage to the church of St. Ninian at Candida Casa.⁵

In 1504 a reform in the administration of justice in the supreme court of the kingdom had been secured by superseding the itinerary system, under which courts were held for brief periods in different parts of the kingdom, by the establishment of a daily council, chosen by the King and sitting permanently in Edinburgh, or wherever the King should make his residence.⁶ After nearly thirty years' experience of the working of this judicial body its shortcomings, naturally enough, were revealed and changes and improvements became desirable, and at a parliament held in Edinburgh, on 17th May, 1532, the College of Justice was instituted. Consisting so far of a development of the daily council, and modelled largely on the Parliament of Paris, but with modifications suggested by observation of the judicial systems of other countries, this new court, with its jurisdiction as in the case of the council limited to civil actions, was to be composed of fourteen persons, seven

⁵ *Excerpta Libris Domicilii* (Bannatyne Club), 1836, pp. vi, 15, 16, 224. Appx. pp. 5, 27, 28, 42.

⁶ The evolution of the daily council from its origin as a committee of parliament is clearly traced in the Introduction to the recently published *Acta Dominorum Concilii*, vol. ii.

lay and seven spiritual, and a president who should always be a churchman, all named by the crown. But it was provided that the chancellor of the kingdom might take the place of president when he pleased and that the king, at his discretion, might add three or four members to the permanent body. Archbishop Dunbar was chancellor at this time and in that capacity presided in the new court when, in presence of the King, it commenced its sittings on 27th May, 1532.

CHAPTER XLV

BLACADER'S HOSPITAL FOR CASUAL POOR—COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. MARY AND ST. ANNE

DURING the greater part of Gavin Dunbar's tenure of the archbishopric the country was in a state of comparative repose, affording the opportunity for attention to domestic concerns. In this period there were founded in Glasgow a hospital and chaplainry and a collegiate church, each of considerable importance. The founder of the hospital and chaplainry was Roland Blacader, subdean of Glasgow, and a nephew of Archbishop Blacader. The deed of foundation has been preserved in a notarial copy, but the dates are ambiguous, and the precise time when the endowment took effect cannot be ascertained, though 1524, or a few years earlier or later, may be accepted as approximately correct. Blacader was subdean in 1503, and perhaps previously, and it is supposed that he lived till 1540 or 1541. About the year 1527 James Houstoun succeeded to the subdeanery, but, if certain documents are to be trusted, Blacader still retained the title of subdean.¹ The chaplain under the new foundation was to officiate in the cathedral at the altar of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, on the south side of the nave, at the first pillar from the Rood loft. Various lands and a long list of annualrents were bestowed

¹ In a protocol, dated 12th December, 1533, James Houstoun was designated "young subdean." (*Glasg. Prot.* No. 1174.) See also *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1161, 1290, 1292, 1313.

as endowments. Masses were to be celebrated daily, and the chaplain was to be master of the hospital in the Stablegreen, then newly founded by Blacader. The hospital was situated outside the North Port of the city, where Dobbies Loan joined the main northern thoroughfare, and it was adapted for the reception of wayfarers, being described as a "house of the poor and indigent casually coming thereto." The chaplain had his chamber within the house, the keeper of which, appointed by the chaplain, was to be a trustworthy married man, of good life and honest conversation.

The keeper and his wife were required to dwell in the house and take charge of bed clothing for the poor. There were to be six beds furnished with blankets, coverlets, and pillows. Vegetables and herbs for the poor were to be grown in the garden, and lentils were to be purchased, "with which lentils the keeper and his wife shall cook green vegetables, with garden herbs, on the evening of every night, for the feeding and nourishment of the poor assembling there." When herbs were not in season the diet was changed to "white gruel" cooked from the lentils. Coals were to be bought for the fire, an iron grate procured for the fireplace, and special directions were given for the purchase of "an iron pot, containing two quarts, for cooking gruel or vegetables, and a caldron, also containing two quarts, for washing the feet of the poor."²

The founder had appointed Sir William Craufurd to be chaplain of the altar and master of the hospital, and that priest seems to have retained the latter charge till about the year 1589. On his successor taking office the building was inspected and the report then made is given below as presumably applicable so far to the hospital's original condition.³

² *Glasg. Prot.* No. 618, where a full translation of the deed of foundation is printed.

³ "The yaird dyk, the north syd thairof weill dykit and kaipit with stane, and ane haill hedge on the south syd thairof; the well weill kaipit with stane,

In the deed of foundation precise rules were laid down for the celebration of masses and exequies for the founder and his friends. By one of these conditions sixty poor people, possessing hearth, house and home in the city, were to attend in church yearly, on the day of the founder's obit, and pray for his soul ; and on the same day eight chaplains were to sit around the founder's tomb, in their surplices, and celebrate the obsequies of the dead. Each of the poor householders was to receive 8d., and each of the chaplains 12d. for their services. On the occasion of each obit the minor sacristan was to get fourteen pennies for the tolling of the bells and four pennies were to be paid to the ringer of the little bell of St. Kentigern through the town. Ten yearly masses were to be celebrated with the Friars Minors and twelve with the Friars Preachers dwelling in the city. Blacader had at one time paid £260 to the Convent of the Friars Preachers in Glasgow and obtained their obligation for the celebration of thirteen masses, weekly ; and when the provincial and visitor of the Friars made their annual visitation the chaplain was directed to show them the obligation and arrange the places for celebrating the masses for the ensuing year.⁴

ane elne above the eird, with the yaird yett sufficient and lokfast ; item, the heich chalmer of the said hospitall weill loftit and jestit, twa windois within the samen staincherit with irne, ane stand bed fixit in the wall of the said chalmer, weill bandit, ane pantrie dure and ane saig dure . . . without hes ane sufficient gude dure and foir yett weill wallit and lokit, with ane raill galrie stair and ane turlies upoun the northmost windo therof ; item, fand the laich hous thair of with six stand beddis of aik sufficient, with ane pantrie lokfast, and ane mekill kist standand within the same claspit with irne on everie nook ; fand the coilhous dure sufficientlie lokit and bandit, weill wallit and kapit round about ; item, the hail houssis of the said hospitall sufficient in ruif, tymmer, sklait, and watterfast ; item, fand ane doubill foiryett bandit, without ane lok, with the wallis of the clois weill kapit round about." (*Glas. Rec.* i. pp. 147-8.) The founder is here called "Allan" Blacader, by which name he is also sometimes mentioned in protocols.

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 618. In 1605 the craftsmen of Glasgow purchased the hospital buildings for the purpose of using the site for their own hospital, then proposed to be erected. But another site was subsequently fixed on

The collegiate foundation to which allusion has been made was promoted by Blacader's successor, James Houstoun, who was subdean from about the year 1527 till his death in 1551. As early as the year 1516 Houstoun began to acquire properties in the vicinity of what is now the site of the Tron church, on the south side of the Trongate, then usually called the street of Saint Tenew. At first the title deeds of these properties were taken in the purchaser's own name, but on 22nd February, 1523-4, a tenement, back area and yard, which he purchased, were resigned by him in favour of a chaplain, "in name of the church founded by the said Mr. James." Similar purchases and investitures of many adjoining properties are recorded⁵ and progress had been made with the erection of the church before 1525 when the first step was taken for its formal constitution. On 29th April of that year "master James Houstoun, perpetual vicar of the parish of Eastwood," appeared in the chapterhouse of the cathedral, in presence of the archbishop, dean and canons, and intimated his intention to complete, on the foundation already laid, and to endow, a church to bear the name of the holy Virgin Mary of Laureto, and of her mother, Saint Anne, on the south side of the street of Saint Tenew, on lands acquired at his own charges and expenses. The scheme was approved of by the archbishop and chapter and their assent was heartily accorded.⁶

As originally announced there was no allusion to a collegiate arrangement, but as the work proceeded its scope gradually expanded and when next heard of, four years later, several chaplainries had been established in the church. On 1st

for the crafts' hospital and Blacader's hospital, then ruinous, was sold by the crafts in 1610. The site has since been possessed by private owners. (*Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 619-21.)

⁵ *Lib. Coll.* etc.

⁶ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 494-7, where an instrument narrating the proceedings, as prepared by Cuthbert Simson, notary, is printed. Representations of the archbishop's seal and the notary's sign are also given.

May, 1529, James Houstoun, then designated "subdean of the metropolitan church of Glasgow," appeared in the presence of notaries public and witnesses, assembled in the chapter-house of the cathedral, and constituted the bailies, community and burgesses of Glasgow, patrons of seven chaplainries in the new church, but reserving to himself the patronage during his lifetime. At this meeting the provost of the city, Robert Stewart of Mynto, was present and accepted the charge on behalf of the bailies and community.

That this ceremony was one side of a transaction, mutually negotiated, is indicated by the terms of a charter, three days later in date, which narrates that the provost, bailies, councillors and community of the city, assembled in the tolbooth, bestowed on the new church, and on eight chaplains therein, sixteen acres of land in the Gallowmuir, two of these acres being assigned to each of the chaplains. To this grant the archbishop and the chapter consented, and by a separate charter, dated 15th May, 1529, it was confirmed by the archbishop as the city's "immediate lord superior and ordinary in things spiritual and temporal." ⁷

Very little is known as to the architectural features of the church, its size and precise site.⁸ Between the building and the street a vacant space was set aside as burying ground and there were plots to the south and west laid out as gardens for the prebendaries, while immediately adjoining was the open

⁷ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 107-17.

⁸ In the year 1566 the provost and prebendaries, with consent of the magistrates and council, as patrons, sold to John Stewart and spouse a "waste fore tenement" described as lying on the south side of the street of St. Tenew and bounded by the cemetery of the church on the west and the "north wall of the choir of the said church" on the south. The purchasers were to be allowed to "build and raise their tenement upon the vestry or vestibule" of the church in such a way that it might not be prejudicial to the vestibule and church, but that the vestry should belong to the provost and prebendaries for the "necessary things" of the church being placed therein and for their chapter being held there weekly. (*Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 530.)

field called Mutland Croft. A building used as a song school stood on the west side of the church.

It is supposed that the collegiate church had not attained completion and full equipment before 1548, by which time the establishment consisted of a provost, eleven canons or prebendaries, and three choristers. The abbot and convent of Kilwinning transferred to the church the vicarage of Dalry, as an endowment for the provost, whom they, as patrons, appointed. The prioress and convent of the Cistercian nunnery of North Berwick, as patrons of the church of Maybole, gave half of that benefice to the first prebendary, styled the arch-priest. Under the same patronage the "greater sacrist," who kept the books, chalices, copes, vestments and ornaments, held the second prebend, and received one-half of the fruits of the vicarage of Maybole. The "lesser sacrist," elected by the provost and prebendaries, had to ring the bells, light the candles, open and shut the church doors, and keep the keys. The magistrates and council nominated the third prebendary, who had charge of the organ, and was bound to keep a song school for the instruction of youths. His prebend consisted of the rent of a house in Saltmarket Street. The fourth and fifth prebends (St. Mary and St. James) were also in the patronage of the town council, and their endowments consisted of lands, houses and rents. St. Roch or Roque was the designation of the sixth prebend, the holder of which had to continue religious services in the chapel on the moor, as well as perform duties in the new church. St. Kentigern, St. Nicholas and St. Andrew were the designations of the next three prebends, all of which were under the patronage of the town council. Sir Martin Reid, chaplain of the altar of St. Martin in the cathedral, founded the tenth and eleventh prebends, and assigned the patronage of both to the magistrates and council. The twelfth and last prebend was that of the three choristers, one of whom was to be chosen by the town

council and the other two by the provost of the collegiate church.

Both the church itself and the houses bequeathed for its endowment were to be kept in good repair, in roofs, windows, and walls, at the sight of the city bailies, under the care of a master of work, to be chosen from the number of the prebendaries in their yearly chapter at Whitsunday.

For ensuring strict observance of the rules the dean of the cathedral chapter, with one of the canons, and the rector and dean of the arts faculty of the University, were appointed visitors of the collegiate church, with sufficient powers for correcting faults and enforcing amendment. Many minute directions were given for masses and other religious services and if these were all regularly observed continuous supervision must have been necessary. As a specimen of standing requirements the services on the Feast of Saint Anne (26th July) may be noticed. At a certain hour all the prebendaries and choristers were to assemble for prescribed singing, reading and prayers, which being ended three shillings were to be distributed among them in bread and ale. On the same day and at the mass on the morrow, thirty poor people, old men and matrons, were to take their place on a wooden bench, in the middle of the choir, set apart for the images and wax lights, and receiving each of them, three pennies in wheaten bread, three pennies in flesh or fish, and two pennies for ale. Eight poor scholars, after repeating psalms, etc., were to get two pennies each. The poor, of "both chambers," of the hospital of St. Nicholas were to be invited and four shillings divided equally among those present or detained in the Almshouse through infirmity. The lepers of St. Ninian's hospital were to assemble in the cemetery of the collegiate church, there to offer up prayers, and among them twelve pennies were to be distributed. St. Mungo's bell was to be tolled through the city, both on St. Anne's day and on the morrow; the bells

of the church were to be rung and images and wax lights were to be set out in the choir.⁹

The collegiate church appears to have superseded the old chapel on the north side of the street, that building having been taken possession of as an endowment. There is still in existence a charter, dated 10th February, 1555-6, whereby the chaplain and prebendary of St. Mary in the collegiate church (in consideration of eleven merks yearly payable to him and his successors), with consent of, (1) the other prebendaries, (2) the town council as patrons of the collegiate church, and (3) the Archbishop, feued the disused building and its site to George Herbertsone and spouse. The building was described as a tenement, "otherwise called the chapell," and it is said to have been "then ruinous and would come to complete ruin unless immediate provision should be made for repair thereof."¹⁰

⁹ *Lib. Coll.* etc. pp. xv.-xxv.

¹⁰ *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 513-7; *Glasg. Prot.* No. 3728. Subsequent to the Reformation the church site and cemetery were disposed of by the town council, but they reacquired the property about the year 1592 and fitted up the church as a protestant place of worship. Since that time the building has been extended over a larger area, and the church was wholly rebuilt about the year 1793, but still the present site of the Tron church is practically that which was occupied by the collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne.

CHAPTER XLVI

BAILIESHIP OF REGALITY—EARLS OF LENNOX AND ARRAN
—SUCCESSION OF PROVOSTS—BONDS OF MANRENT—
CRAFTSMEN—SEALS OF CAUSE TO TAILORS, WEAVERS AND
HAMMERMEN—ACTS OF PARLIAMENT

GEORGE COLQUHOUN who is designated provost-depute of Glasgow in 1514-5 and again in 1519-20,¹ is referred to as provost of Glasgow in 1523-4,² and though there is no definite information on the subject it is probable that he acted both as depute-bailie of the regality and provost of the burgh till the death of the earl of Lennox in 1526. The latter's successor, Earl Matthew, born in 1516, was in pupillarity, and his estates having thus fallen to the crown in ward were bestowed on the Earls of Arran and Angus jointly. Angus resigned his half to Arran's natural son, Sir James Hamilton of Finnart; and in connection with these arrangements the Earl of Arran seems to have obtained the bailieship of the regality. On 18th October, 1527, Sir Robert Stewart of Minto, who was provost of the burgh from that year till 1537, bound himself, so long as he remained provost, to be "man and

¹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. p. 533; *antea*, 319-20.

² *Historical MSS. Commission: Col. D. Milne Home* (1902) p. 34. In a letter to the Duke of Albany, dated 21st January, 1523-4, David Home of Wedderburn stated as the reason he could not attend upon his grace, that the Earl of Lennox had caused him to remain in the country with his (the earl's) "awin servand, George of Colquhoun, provost of Glasgow," to apprehend some evil doers.

servitur" to James earl of Arran.³ Keeping in view the position of the earl as bailie of the regality, this bond can scarcely be regarded as conflicting with the statutes of 1457 and 1491 forbidding any man dwelling in a burgh to bind himself in manrent with any one except the king or his officers or with the lord of the burgh.⁴ The archbishop of Glasgow was lord of the regality within which the burgh was situated and the bailie of the regality was at least nominally his officer.

Whatever may have been the effect of the provost's bond of manrent while it remained in force its duration was cut short by the death of the earl in or before July, 1529. His successor, the second earl, was a minor, and as Lennox was in the same position neither of them would be qualified for the office of regality bailie and it is not known who was entrusted with the duties of that office during the intermediate period which elapsed before they could be personally undertaken by Lennox.

In 1531 the young earl of Lennox obtained the governorship and revenues of Dumbarton Castle, where he was born fifteen years previously, but the guardianship of that important stronghold must have been entrusted to a deputy and William Stirling of Glorat seems to have been continued in that office.⁵ The earl entered the service of the King of France in 1532 and did not return with the intention of residing in this country till 1543, but though his personal activities were not available in Glasgow barony there was no abatement of his interest in its affairs. By a letter written from Edinburgh, dated 15th August and supposed to be of or about the year 1535, he desired his brother, Sir John Stewart, captain of the Scots Guard in France, to obtain letters from his royal master and

³ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report xi. Appx. 6, p. 34.

⁴ *Antea*, p. 308.

⁵ Irving's *Dumbartonshire* (1857) p. 158; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. Abstract, p. 14, No. 314.

others to the Pope, to the French ambassador at Rome, and to the College of Cardinals, for expediting some business which the archbishop of Glasgow had to transact at Rome with reference to the privileges and freedom of the kirk of Glasgow. In this letter the earl reminds his brother that "the house of Lennox were servants to St. Mungo and bound to defend the interests of that kirk." ⁶

It is not till twelve years after the Skinners got their seal of cause that we have record of another craft obtaining official confirmation of its rules and consequent recognition of its status as an incorporation. But on 10th October, 1527, the town council, responding to the desire of the Tailor craft, as represented by four of their number, designated "kyrk-maisters," and by the remaining masters of craft, sanctioned the articles or rules submitted to them. By these rules, which closely correspond with those passed by the town council of Edinburgh in favour of the tailor craft of that city, in 1500,⁷ apprenticeships were to last for four years, each apprentice on his entry paying half a merk to the altar of St. Anne; craftsmen were not to set up booth till they were qualified workmen and had become freemen and burgesses of the city; no master was to harbour any other master's apprentice or servant; each booth-holder was to pay to the altar ten shillings on setting up booth and thereafter one penny weekly; and any spoiled cloth was to be made good to the owner. Any one disobeying the deacon, whom the craft were authorised to choose yearly, had to pay a pound of wax to the altar and a fine of eight shillings to the magistrates. Like all the known

⁶ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report iii. p. 395, No. 190.

⁷ *Edinb. Rec.* i. p. 82. The Edinburgh tailors made provision for religious services at the altar of St. Anne, "oure matrone," within the collegiate church of St. Giles. There was an altar of St. Anne in the newly founded collegiate church of St. Mary and St. Anne, in Glasgow, and it may have been there that the Glasgow craft maintained religious services. No altar to St. Anne in Glasgow cathedral has been identified.

pre-Reformation seals of cause, with one exception, this seal of cause was granted with the express consent of the archbishop.⁸

⁸ Original Seal of Cause in the possession of the Incorporation of Tailors. As this document has not been printed elsewhere and is illustrative of former methods of procedure, the following quotations are given. It begins thus: "To the hie honor, laude, glor, and perpetuall lovyng of the blissit Trinitie, Fadir, Sone, and Halegast, the blissit Virgene, modir of God, our halie patron Sant Mungo, and Sant Anne, and all the halie companie and blissit falloschipe of hewyng, the commone weill and guid publice of our Soverane Lordis legis and of the burghes and ciete of Glasgwe, the induellaris and inhabitaris tharof: We provest, balzeis, consall and communitie of the burghes and ciete of Glasgwe, to all and syndrie, present and fortocum, to quhais knawalagis thir present letteris sall cum, greting, to all burrouis and universiteis we make it knauing that thar comperit now laitlie befor us, universalie gadderit, efter the sownd of our commone bell, within our tolbutht of Glasgu, our weilbeluffit nychtburis, cietounris and comburgessis, that is to say, Jhone Strwddirris, Rynzen Marchell, Thomas Garddinar, Jhone Clark, kyrkmasteris, and the laif of the masteris of the Tailzour craft within our said burgh and ciete, and present thar suplicatione tyll us, makand mentione that the said craft and faculte was misgidit and distrouit in the falt of gude rewle and reformatione of the said craft and gud statutis to be maid tharin for the commone weill of the realme and the kyngis legis of this ciete and towne: And tharfor thai desirit for thir premis, and the loving of God and agmentatione of his serwes and to the honor of Sant Anne to be thar matrone, thir puntis and articulis efter folluand: " (Here follow the articles summarised in the text.) "Quharfor my lordis sene thir our racionable and sempille desiris and petitionis conformis to equite and ar consonant to honour and pollici, according to the use and consuetis of gryt townis of honour in other realmis, and desiris that ye wald grant till us tham ratifiit, approvit and confermit be you."

On 3rd February, 1546-7, another seal of cause was granted to the Tailors. It is in similar terms to that of 1527 but has an additional "article," to the effect that the deacon and masters of craft should prevent unfreemen doing tailor work within the city unless they conformed to certain conditions. This document is printed in full in Mr. J. M. Taylor's *Records of the Incorporation of Tailors* (1872) pp. 101-4. On 11th May, 1569, the town council granted a third seal of cause (also printed *Ibid.* pp. 108-12) introducing alterations and additions rendered necessary by the changes of the Reformation and superseding the two earlier "letters of deaconheid." Thenceforth support of the poor and meeting the common charges of the craft were substituted for altar payments, and "dennars and sumptuous bankets" were discontinued, the saved money being placed in the "common box."

Glossary:—at, that; at tha, that they; aucht, owned; beand, being; bwtht, booth; cietounris, citizens; distrouit, destroyed; fortocum, future; frathinfurth, thenceforth; fundment, foundation; gryt, great; gud, guid, good; guid publice, public good; halie, holy; hewyng, heaven; knauing,

That bodies of craftsmen were formed into societies before being incorporated by seals of cause is illustrated in the case of the Weaver's craft which appears to have obtained a seal of cause for the first time in 1528. One of the minute books of this incorporation contains an entry dated 8th February, 1658, bearing that their "haill old actis, extractit out of the buikis for the yeir 1514 and sensyne" were at that time read, allowed and approved. This earlier minute book has not been preserved, but from the terms of the quoted entry and other incidental information obtained elsewhere it may be inferred that it was the common practice for craftsmen to be joined in voluntary association and to work under their own rules and regulations before formal seals of cause were applied for and obtained.

The weavers' seal of cause of 1528 is not preserved but its terms are narrated in an act of parliament passed on 17th September, 1681. From this source it is shown that on 4th June, 1528, the masters of the webster craft, within the burgh, presented a supplication to the magistrates and council mentioning that the craft was misguided in default of good rule and statutes and desiring ratification of the points and articles then submitted for approval. Prominent among these are contributions to the altar of the craft's patron saint whose name is left blank. Fullers, and presumably other workers in cloth, were regarded as under the protection of a saint named Sever or Severin.⁹ In Glasgow cathedral there was no altar to St. Severin but as there was one to St. Serf

known ; kyrkmaister, one in charge of church or altar affairs ; laif, remainder ; legis, lieges ; ourman, oversman ; pratik, practice ; puntis, points, conditions ; quhais, whose ; racionable, reasonable ; sene, since ; serwes, service ; tolbutht, tolbooth ; tyll, to ; universiteis, all, every person concerned.

⁹ The weavers of Edinburgh, who obtained a seal of cause on 31st January, 1475-6, contributed to the altar of "Sanct Severane" in the church of St. Giles (*Edin. Rec.* i. p. 33).

or Servanus¹⁰ it was probably to the latter altar that the Glasgow weavers paid their dues, and these were of considerable amount. A prentice on his entry paid 5s. ; a freeman on setting up booth paid 2 merks ; each booth-holder paid a penny weekly ; for insufficient work a pound of wax was exacted for the altar ; each servant of the craft, except prentices, had to pay a half-penny weekly ; and any one disobeying the deacon was to give a pound of wax for the lights of the altar. The few remaining rules of the seal of cause, which it may be mentioned was granted by the magistrates and council with consent of the archbishop, included provisions for apprenticeships lasting five years and for the yearly appointment of a deacon, disobedience to whom involved, besides the wax contribution, payment of a fine of 8s. to the magistrates.¹

The next of the Glasgow crafts to obtain a seal of cause was the society of Hammermen, embracing the various classes of artizans styled blacksmiths, goldsmiths, lorimers, bit and bridle makers, saddlers, bucklemakers and armourers, who obtained a seal of cause from the magistrates and council with consent of the archbishop, on 11th October, 1536. St. Eligius or Eloy was the patron saint of goldsmiths and to his altar the offerings of Glasgow hammermen were rendered. No other mention of an altar dedicated to St. Eloy in the cathedral, or any other of the city churches or chapels has been traced, but it is acknowledged that we have no complete list of the chaplainries and altarages which existed in the city in early times.

The main provisions of the hammermen's seal of cause are

¹⁰ Between 1214 and 1249, Alexander, sheriff of Stirling, gave three merks yearly from the mill of Cader for the sustentation of a chaplain at the altar of St. Servanus, constructed by him in the church of Glasgow (*Reg. Episc.* Nos. 121-2). On 18th June, 1446, Mr. David Cadyhow, precentor in the church of Glasgow, gave £7, yearly, for maintaining services at the altar of St. Servanus, which he had rebuilt (*Ibid.* No. 348).

¹ *Old Glasgow Weavers* (1905) pp. 2, 6-8 ; A.P.S. viii. p. 396.

of the usual tenor, aimed at securing sufficiency of workmanship, a careful inspection of progress being made each Saturday. Qualified craftsmen, on being admitted and setting up booth, contributed 20s. each to the altar; prentices on their entry gave to it 10s.; and for each breaking of the statutes a pound of wax was exacted for its lights. Indicating a somewhat extended existence as a society before this time, all the members were bound to fulfil their "auld use and consuetude" in all things for the uphold of divine service at the altar and "ane honorable chaplain thairto."²

The benefits secured to individual burghs by salutary regulations laid down in seals of cause to the respective craftsmen within their bounds were sought to be conferred on burghs in general through the medium of public statutes. Thus in June, 1535, parliament had under consideration the great oppression suffered by the lieges through exorbitant prices charged by cordiners, smiths, baxters, brewsters and other craftsmen, and it was resolved that a commission should be issued for causing craftsmen to produce sufficient work for sale at suitable prices, and repairs were to be attended to by competent workmen. Such cloth as was found on inspection to be of proper manufacture was to be sealed by an officer appointed for the purpose.

In preparation for defence of the realm the orders for holding periodical wapinshawings were renewed and each burgh was called upon to report how much artillery it could supply. Owing to a scarcity of guns and ammunition merchants trading to foreign countries were instructed to bring home hagbuts

² *Hammermen of Glasgow* (1912) pp. 251-2. The original seal of cause is not preserved and it has here been printed from comparatively modern transcripts, containing in some parts obvious misreadings, though in most cases the meaning can be guessed. If, as the printed document indicates, the headsmen and masters of the craft petitioned the king and the archbishop, and not the magistrates and council, for ratification of their rules, this was a peculiarly exceptional course, but in transcribing this passage some words seem to have been omitted or altered.

and armour, or at least metal for the making of such and also supplies of powder. But at this time peaceful relationship existed with England, and parliament could give its attention to such home subjects as the ticketing of beggars to their own parishes, the uniformity of weights and the ratification of the privileges of burghs. The act passed against the importation of the works of "the great heretic Luther" and his followers was also renewed.³

³ *Ancient Laws*, ii. pp. 65-71 ; *A.P.S.* ii. p. 341.

CHAPTER XLVII

LEGISLATION RELATING TO BURGHS—ACCOUNTING FOR
COMMON GOOD—SAILING OF SHIPS—FOUNDATIONS OF
RELIGIOUS SERVICES—SONG SCHOOL—SPREAD OF
REFORMED DOCTRINES—MARTYRS

FOLLOWING on the lines of the statutes 1457 and 1491, forbidding the inhabitants of burghs to enter into covenants with landward men to the prejudice of the burgesses, protection against encroachment of neighbouring lords and lairds was also provided by the legislature in other forms. An act passed in 1535 narrates that royal burghs were injured in their goods and policy through "outland" men being provosts, bailies and aldermen within burgh, for their own benefit, and it was therefore ordained that no one should be chosen to these offices except burgesses, merchants and indwellers. Under the acts of 1457 and 1491 no one dwelling within the burgh was to "purchess lordship" beyond its bounds, meaning apparently the procuring of outside authority, whereby his neighbour could be troubled or disturbed. So far the remedy against injustice was in the hands of the burgesses themselves, but those from whom aggression might be anticipated were also put under restraint. No man, earl, lord, baron, or other person of whatever degree, was allowed to molest or trouble the provost, aldermen, bailies, officers and merchants of any burgh in their neighbourhood, in using their liberties and

privileges; and the clerks of the justice courts were enjoined to see to the observance of this enactment.¹

Up till this time royal burghs had been in the practice of rendering their accounts in exchequer and settling the crown dues for which they were liable. To secure more effective supervision over revenue and expenditure, provosts, bailies and aldermen were now required, at the day set for giving in their accounts, to bring yearly to the exchequer the account books of their common good, to be seen and considered by the lords auditors "gif the samin be spendit for the commoun wele of the burgh or not." At this examination of a burgh's accounts an opportunity was given for any one from that burgh attending to argue and impugn the intromissions, "sua that all murmur may ceis in that behalf."² Though, as already explained³ Glasgow did not at first render accounts in exchequer, it may be that from the year 1535, as was certainly done at a later date, they produced a yearly statement of revenue and expenditure in compliance with the act, but it is a long time after that date that we have authentic information on the point.⁴

Along with the other burgh statutes passed in 1535 parliament ratified previous acts granted to merchants within burghs and enjoined the magistrates of port towns to see to their observance. An act of James II. ordaining that, as a precaution for the safety of trading vessels, no ship should be freighted out of the realm with any staple goods, from

¹ *Ancient Laws*, ii. pp. 68, 69.

² *Ancient Laws*, ii. p. 69.

³ *Aniea*, p. 98.

⁴ The earliest preserved statement of this nature for the burgh of Glasgow is that for the year 1621 (*Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 577). If Glasgow did not render exchequer accounts in consequence of obtaining its crown charter of 1611 (*Ibid.* i. pt. ii. pp. 278-83) it must have done so after obtaining the charter of 1636 (*Ibid.* pp. 375-95). By the latter charter the burgh became liable to the crown for the yearly payment of 20 merks (£13 6s. 8d. Scots) of burgh maill, and it was thereafter necessary to pass in exchequer yearly accounts similar to that rendered in 1662 (*Ibid.* ii. p. 50).

Saints Simon and Jude's day (28th October) till Candlemas (2nd February), was renewed and the penalty for its infringement was increased, but merchants were allowed, within the forbidden time, to export merchandise in ships that brought in salt or wine.⁵

In 1539, the year in which the martyrs Russell and Kennedy are said to have been condemned at Glasgow, we have the record of two foundations for the celebration of religious services, one of them on rather an elaborate scale. On 31st October, 1539, Richard Bothwell, canon of Glasgow and prebendary of Ashkirk, gave twenty-four shillings, yearly, from the rents of a house near the market cross, for obituary masses to be celebrated by the vicars of the choir, with the tolling of bells, and for the passing of the bell of St. Kentigern through the town.⁶ Bothwell's obit is at the head of the list in Glasgow "Martyrologium," a document which was originally printed from a manuscript preserved in the Advocate's Library, and the date is 1st January, 1548.⁷

⁵ *Ancient Laws*, ii. pp. 67, 68. This concession would sometimes be of advantage to Clyde mariners. French wine and salt were among their chief articles of import.

According to a satirical contemporary, Sir David Lyndsay, some insatiable merchants were not pleased with the restrictive acts and evaded their provisions. Such inconsiderate traders,

" Quhen God has send thame abundance
Ar nocht content with suffiance ;
Bot sailis into the stormy blastis
In winter, to get greter castis,
In mony terribill gret torment,
Aganis the actis of parliament.
Sum tynis thair geir, and sum ar droun'd."

Lyndsay's Works (1806 Edition), ii. p. 150.

⁶ *Reg. Episc.* No. 501.

⁷ *Ibid.* No. 545. Of the thirty-six obits noted in the list, the eighth to the thirty-fourth are given in exact sequence of days and months from 11th January to 30th December, the earliest being that of Duncan, earl of Carryk, died 13th June, 1250, and the latest that of Rolland Blakader, subdean of

By the other foundation above referred to a tenement and yard, on the east side of Castle Street, the site of which is now occupied by the Royal Infirmary and the Asylum for the Blind, was burdened with various sums of money, payable

Glasgow, died 9th March, 1540, subsequent to which latter date that part of the list must have been compiled. The following is the full list :

- | | | |
|---------------|------|---|
| 1 January, | 1548 | Mr. Richard Bothwell, canon of Glasgow, prebendary of Askirk. |
| 22 June, | 1547 | Mr. George Lokhart, dean of Glasgow. |
| 5 January, | 1475 | Mr. Symon de Dalgles, precentor of Glasgow. |
| 10 January, | 1482 | Sir Hugh Raa, subdean of Glasgow. |
| 21 March, | 1524 | Mr. Archibald Layng, provost of Sempill. |
| 10 October, | 1539 | Sir Robert Clerk, subchanter. |
| 24 April, | 1555 | Mr. John Spreull, canon of Glasgow. |
| 11 January, | 1482 | John Layng, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 27 January, | 1477 | [1467] Sir William Raa, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 31 January, | 1461 | Mr. Nicholas de Ottirburne, canon of Glasgow. |
| 15 February, | 1467 | Mr. John Arrows, archdeacon of Glasgow. |
| 19 February, | 1427 | Mr. John Stewart, subdean of Glasgow. |
| 20 February, | 1436 | James I., King of Scots. |
| 9 March, | 1540 | Mr. Rolland Blakader, subdean of Glasgow. |
| 17 March, | 1431 | Mr. John of Hawyk, precenter of Glasgow. |
| 20 March, | 1496 | Sir David Purdy, subchanter of Glasgow Primo. |
| 18 April, | 1509 | Mr. David Cunighame, canon of Glasgow. |
| 10 May, | 1408 | Mathew Glendunwyn, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 17 May, | 1487 | Mr. James Lindesay, dean of Glasgow. |
| 7 June, | 1329 | Robert Bruce, King of Scotia. |
| 11 June, | 1488 | James III., King of Scotia. |
| 13 June, | 1250 | Duncan, earl of Carryk. |
| 14 June, | 1425 | William Lauder, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 30 June, | 1486 | Mr. William Elphinston, archdeacon of Teviotdale. |
| 28 July, | 1508 | Robert Blacader, first archbishop of Glasgow. |
| 19 August, | 1467 | Mr. David de Cadihow, precentor of Glasgow. |
| 3 September, | 1454 | William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 25 September, | 1415 | Mr. Nicolas de Grenelaw, dean of Glasgow. |
| 23 October, | 1498 | Mr. Archibald Quhytlaw, subdean of Glasgow. |
| 25 October, | 1514 | William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. |
| 6 November, | 1479 | James lord of Hamilton. |
| 20 November, | 1473 | Andrew Mureheid, bishop of Glasgow, who was founder of the College of the Vicars of the Choir of Glasgow. |
| 24 December, | 1446 | John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow. |
| 30 December, | 1493 | Mr. Thomas Forsyth, prebendary of Glasgow Primo, canon of Glasgow. |
| 6 December, | 1541 | Mr. James Neilson. |
| 24 June, | 1553 | Mr. Cuthbert Symson, vicar of Dalzell. |

yearly to the master of the "sang scuyl" of the Metropolitan Church, the vicar pensioner of the burgh, the vicars of the choir, and others, for anniversary services at the altars of Our Lady, "Sanct Mungo" and St. Peter, in the lower church. Singers, poor scholars, twenty-four "puyr howshalderis," and others, were assigned their respective duties, minute instructions were given as to music and the lighting of candles, and St. Mungo's bell was to be rung through the town by the "belman." These conditions were contained in a "Memorandum" by Sir Mark Jamieson, vicar of Kilspindie, in the diocese of St. Andrews, acting as testamentary executor under the will of his mother's brother, John Paniter, formerly preceptor of the song school of the metropolitan church of Glasgow. Sir Mark survived the Reformation period about thirty years, by which time the revenues of the tenement and yard were being applied to other purposes, and in the year 1590 he appeared in the council-house of Glasgow and delivered to the town council all the documents relating to the foundation, placed "in ane litill box, to be keipit in the commoun kist."⁸

On the last day of February, 1538-9, five executions for "heresy" had taken place on the Castlehill of Edinburgh, and within a few months later, Jerome Russell, a Grey Friar, supposed to belong to Dumfries, and a youth, eighteen years of age, named Kennedy, a native of Ayr, both in the diocese of Glasgow, were tried for a like offence, and after condemnation, in which it is said Archbishop Dunbar was unwilling to join, both were burned at the stake in Glasgow. Particulars regarding the cruel tragedy are scant and the places of the trial and execution are not specified, but it is probable that the

⁸ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1318; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. p. 501; *Glasg. Rec.* i. p. 155. The deed of foundation (5th November, 1539) contains a reference to vicars *in burgo* and *in rure*, thus shewing that in pre-Reformation times there existed an arrangement similar to that introduced when, for ecclesiastical purposes, the landward district, sometime known as the Barony parish, was disjoined from the urban or burghal territory.

judges would preside somewhere in the cathedral and that the last scenes would be witnessed in its vicinity.⁹

In a parliament held at Edinburgh on 15th March, 1542-3, it was resolved that the Bible might be read in a Scots or English translation, whereupon "ane maist reverend fader in God, Gavin, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor, for himself and in name and behalf of all the prelates of this realme," dissented and opposed the resolution till a provincial council of the whole clergy of the realm should decide "gif the samyne be necessare to be had in vulgare tounge to be usit among the Queenis lieges or nocht."¹⁰ Dunbar was at this time chancellor of the kingdom, but shortly afterwards he was replaced by Cardinal Beaton, who had succeeded his uncle, James Beaton, as archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1539.

⁹ *Works of John Knox*, i. pp. 63-66 ; Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 348.

¹⁰ *Reg. Episc.* No. 506. The act of parliament embodying the prelates' dissent was confirmed by a charter in name of Queen Mary, under the great seal, dated 8th May, 1545 (*Ibid.*).

CHAPTER XLVIII

PROTOCOL BOOK FOR CITY PROPERTIES—TRAFFIC ON RIVER CLYDE—LIBERTIES OF GLASGOW, RUTHERGLEN AND RENFREW—TAX ROLL OF BURGHS

OUR fullest information regarding the situation and ownership of properties within the city of Glasgow, in the sixteenth century, is obtained from the protocols of the town clerks of Glasgow which are preserved in a fairly continuous series from the year 1547. An earlier instalment of this class of record is embraced in the protocols of Michael Fleming, between 1530 and 1537, averaging in number about forty transactions in the year, all written in the vernacular,¹ a practice rarely followed by notaries of that period, their instruments being almost invariably written in Latin.

In his instruments Fleming is styled clerk of the diocese of Glasgow, notary public by apostolic and imperial authority, and he was probably town clerk though his name coupled with that designation has not been traced. One of his protocols narrates proceedings which are referred to as recorded at length in the "ak bwkis of the town," thus indicating the ready access to a municipal record such as a town clerk would possess.² Another protocol records proceedings which took place in the "court of Glasgow," the clerkship of which was held by the town clerk, and it would naturally fall within

¹ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1050-1317.

² This protocol is dated 15th December, 1534, so that the cited act book must have been at least forty years earlier in date than any now existing.

the province of that official to note the particulars as contained in Fleming's protocol book.³

The protocol last cited is that dated 9th December, 1531,⁴ narrating that representatives from Dumbarton alleged that the contract between that burgh and Glasgow providing for a joint interest in the river Clyde had been broken. But that there was no material rupture between the two burghs at that time may be gathered from a letter which King James V., on 3rd April, 1533, addressed to their provosts, bailies, aldermen and communities, requiring them to deliver to the deputy captain of the castle of Dumbarton three or four tuns of wines out of every ship that came to their waters with wines, for provisioning the King and the castle, he paying therefor the same price as was paid for the remainder.⁵

In July of this year large quantities of provisions were collected for the King's ship, the payments relating to which include 10s. "for careing of the foresaid stuff to the brig end of Glasgu," and 15s. "for fraucht of the forsaidis wittallis fra Glasgu to Dunbritane." On 7th September the King was at Inveraray, his presence in that direction being probably connected with the chronic state of disturbance which affected that part of the country. In Argyll the King remained till at least 10th October. On his return he spent a few days in Glasgow, whence a boy was sent to Edinburgh for his lute; and on 19th October the sum of 6s. was paid for "ane dosane of luyt stringis sent to the kingis grace in Glasgew." He was in Falkland by 2nd November.⁶

³ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1103, 1194.

⁴ See also *antea*, p. 332.

⁵ *Stirlings of Keir*, p. 351, cited in *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. Abstract, p. 14, No. 314.

⁶ *L. H. T. Accounts*, vi. pp. 164, 179. On 25th October, 1533, the sum of £5 15s. 6d. was paid for "ane ryding coit of Dundee gray, velvot to begary the samyn and luyngis thairto, coft to the kingis grace in Glasgew." The "expensis maid upoun the schip and maryneris feis sen scho cum to Dunbartane" include £28 as a month's wages "payit in Glasgew to 14 men quhilk wer left with the schip to bring the king out of Argyle." (*Ibid.* p. 233.)

A charter granted to the burgh of Rutherglen, by King James V., "after our legal and perfect full age of twenty-five years and general revocation," is expressed in terms which at first seem somewhat puzzling. Apparently overlooking all the material changes made since the foundation of the burgh, the charters granted by previous sovereigns are confirmed without qualification, the limits of the burgh's privileges are those of the time of King David, as set forth in William's charter, and thus embracing the area of the burgh of Glasgow and a large part of its liberties, and it was again ordered that no one except the officials of Rutherglen should uplift customs or other rights pertaining to the town within these original bounds. The charter, to which Archbishop Dunbar, chancellor of the kingdom, was a witness, is dated 12th June, 1542, and sixteen days later the burgh of Renfrew got from the King a charter confirming in its entirety that of Robert III., granted to the latter burgh in 1397.⁷ So far, therefore, as appears *ex facie* of these two charters the existence of the burgh of Glasgow and all its privileges, conferred by royal authority, were ignored, but when read, as they require to be, alongside other writings their true import becomes obvious.

It may safely be assumed that neither Rutherglen nor Renfrew, in applying for a ratification of their privileges, contemplated any derogation from those of Glasgow, especially keeping in view that its archbishop held office as chancellor. But no doubt the chancellor and other state officials entrusted with the issue of the new charters would be anxious to avoid the responsibility of reviewing the scattered evidence and defining the existing rights and limits of the respective burghs. Accordingly the common device was adopted of simply confirming or renewing to the several burghs their former charters and writings, leaving the meaning and effect of these to be interpreted by immemorial usage.

⁷ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* iii. No. 2705.

As the result, seemingly, of simultaneous negotiation and arrangement, an act or decret, dated 10th June, 1542, was obtained by Glasgow, whereby the inhabitants of Rutherglen and Renfrew were directed to acquiesce in the city's market rights, presumably on the lines set down in the Letters granted by James II. in 1449-50.⁸ Unfortunately the charter granted by James VI., in 1596, embodying the contents of the decree, has been abstracted from the city's archives since the inventory of writs was compiled in 1696, but the brief description there given sufficiently indicates its scope.

From the few notices bearing on the subject it may be gathered that in the interval between 1450 and 1596 the burgesses of Rutherglen were regular frequenters of Glasgow market and they likewise contributed their share of the dues levied by the bailies and community "for sowing and clanging of thair calsay";⁹ and the like reasonable procedure may be inferred of the burgesses of Renfrew. The inhabitants of all the three burghs were entitled to deal with each other, free from exaction of crown customs, and no revenue was derived from that source, but for spread of trade and payment of petty customs it must have been mutually advantageous for the several burghs to encourage buying and selling in each other's markets, and it is probable that commercial intercourse on these lines was regularly maintained.

Regarding the relative importance, from a commercial point of view, not only of the three burghs towards each other, but also of that of Glasgow to Scottish burghs in general, indications are from time to time obtained from tax rolls, showing the proportion of national taxation borne by each, according to a periodically adjusted scale, based on its financial condition at the time. Thus in the year 1535, when the sum of 5,000 merks was contributed by the burghs to sustain the King's expenses in France, Glasgow stood eleventh on the

⁸ *Antea*, pp. 65, 206.

⁹ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 27, 164, 247.

roll, with a contribution of £67 10s. while Renfrew's share was £33 15s. and that of Rutherglen £22 10s.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Conv. Rec.* i. pp. 514-5. The burghs rated higher than Glasgow were Edinburgh, £833; Dundee, £321; Aberdeen, £315; Perth, £247; Haddington £101; St. Andrews, £100; Montrose, £90; Cupar, £90; Stirling, £84; Ayr, £78. Fractions are omitted.

CHAPTER XLIX

DISASTER OF SOLWAY MOSS—BEGINNING OF QUEEN MARY'S REIGN—EARL OF ARRAN, REGENT AND GOVERNOR—INSURRECTION OF LENNOX AND OTHERS—SIEGE OF BISHOP'S CASTLE—BATTLE OF THE BUTTS—ADDITIONS TO CASTLE

By the death of James V., on 14th December, 1542, six days after the birth of his daughter, who then became Queen Mary, and only a few weeks after the disastrous affair of Solway Moss, where many of the Scottish lords were captured by the English, the government of Scotland was again thrown into disorder. Cardinal Beaton claimed the custody of the infant princess in virtue of a testament which bore to be signed by the late King, but there were grave doubts as to its authenticity, and the estates, on 13th March, 1542-3, sustained the assumption of the regency by James Hamilton, earl of Arran, as his hereditary right, he being next to the young Queen in succession to the crown.

Meanwhile Henry VIII. had opened negotiations for an alliance between England and Scotland, based on the marriage of Mary to his son, Prince Edward. The Solway prisoners were allowed to return home, but each of them was bound by solemn pledge, made secure by hostages, to further English interests in Scotland. At first Arran was favourable to Henry's schemes, but he had Cardinal Beaton and the whole body of the clergy against him, and on learning the trend of

affairs the French king sent the earl of Lennox over to Scotland to induce the governor and the estates to adhere to the old alliance with France and not to enter into engagements with England which would be prejudicial to the former country. Through his family claims Lennox was a dangerous rival to Arran, both being descended from a daughter of James II., the former through a daughter, and the latter through a son of that princess, but his mission was unsuccessful and latterly by a curious turn of affairs was entirely abandoned. After the English negotiations had been so successful as to reach the stage of a marriage treaty Arran was completely won over to the interests of Cardinal Beaton and the French party. Lennox being thereupon cast aside, as of no essential service to his former associates, turned to England to find his revenge and further his own interests, and it was not long till an opportunity occurred for some little injury being inflicted on his opponents. Proceeding to Dumbarton castle, of which he was governor, he met a fleet of seven French ships which arrived at Dumbarton port in the beginning of October, 1543, and took possession of a large consignment of money and munitions which had been intended to strengthen the French party in Scotland.¹ Whatever was the ultimate destination of these supplies the party for whom they were intended were thus effectually deprived of their use.

At the outset of his desertion of the national cause Lennox garrisoned the castle of Glasgow, and (as Pitscottie relates) Regent Arran, the governor, on 8th March, 1543-4, besieged that fortress with 12,000 men and artillery brought from Edinburgh. "The siege," says the chronicler, "lasted ten days, till all their powder and bullets were spent. Therefore, they practised with the keepers of the castle to yield it, promising great rewards to them, and all who were with them.

¹ *Hamilton Papers*, ii. pp. 92, 93, 103.

The keepers were John Stuart and William, being sons to the Abbot of Dryburgh,² who, knowing of no relief were glad of the offer, and yielded the castle to the governor. Notwithstanding, the two brethren foresaid were imprisoned during the governor's pleasure, and all the rest were immediately hanged."³ A writer of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century supplies a different date, and does not state the numbers of soldiers or days of the siege, which in his narrative looks a simpler affair :

" On 1st April, 1544, the governour, the cardinall, the erllis of Argyle and Bothwell, with mony utheris lordis, convenit be oppin proclamatioun at Glasgow and saigit the castle thairof and stepill, quhilk was keipiit be the erle of Lennox and his complices, quhairat was great slauchter, quhilk was given over be the said erle. Thair wer hangit xviii. men, be the governour, as traitouris ; thair wer tane my lord Maxwell, the erle of Angus, James of Parkheid, and James of the Watter, and haid to Hamiltoun, and thair put in captivitie. . . . Upoun 3rd April the governour with his complices wan Cruikstoun, the principall hous of the erle of Lennox."⁴

In consequence of English invaders having landed at Leith on 1st May, the governor's army had to retrace its steps, though too late or in insufficient strength to prevent the seizure and burning of Edinburgh and the ravaging of the east country. This turn of affairs seems to have encouraged

² At a time of severe Border trouble, in 1523, the Duke of Albany bestowed the benefice of Dryburgh upon the earl of Lennox who appointed James Stewart, a canon of Glasgow cathedral, as its commendator-abbot. It was probably this abbot who is here referred to. In 1543-4 the abbacy was possessed by Thomas Erskine who had succeeded Stewart in 1541. (*Liber de Dryburgh*, pp. xxii, xxiii.)

³ *History of Scotland*, by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie (1728 Edition) pp. 182-3.

⁴ *Diurnall of Occurrents in Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, p. 31). In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, the execution of the men taken from the castle is thus noted under date 4th April : " Item, for tymmer to be ane gallous in Glasgw and for making thairof, quhilk was set up for nence the Tolbuth of the samyn, 32s. Item, for towis to the men that tholit deid thair, 15s." (*L. H. T. Accounts*, viii. p. 283).



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From the portrait in possession of the Marquis of Ailsa.

Lennox and his supporters in an attempt to retrieve their position in Glasgow. On 17th May an agreement was entered into, at Carlisle, between King Henry and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, whereby the two earls engaged to do their utmost to put the principal Scottish fortresses into Henry's hands. Lennox proceeded to Dumbarton castle, while Glencairn assembled an army at Glasgow, of which John Stewart of Minto, an adherent of Lennox was then provost. The citizens as in duty bound took the side of their provost ; and as he, according to the usual custom, was probably also depute-bailie of the regality, a fair proportion of the rentallers may have joined the citizens. The author above quoted says :

“ On 24th May the governor was gadderit to the number of 1,000 men, and the erle of Glencairne come out of Glasgow with his friendis to the number of 500, quhair thir pairties met, on the mure of Glasgow, and it was cruellie fochtin ; bot at last the earle of Glencairne with his company fled, and the said erlis sone, callit Androw, was slane, with mony utheris of that pairtie. On the governouris pairtie was slane the laird of Colmiskeith, his maister houshald, with twelf uther small men, and thairefter the said governour past to the toun of Glasgow and spoulzeit the samyne and left littill thairin.”⁵

This conflict occurred on the Gallowmuir, at a place where the citizens practised archery, and which on that account was called the Butts. Annalists, both ancient and modern, have many versions of the “ Battle of the Butts,” and it is impossible to reconcile all the discrepancies. Bishop Lesley, who wrote within thirty years after the event, treats the siege of the castle and the engagement on the moor as parts of a simultaneous movement, but, apart from this misapprehension, his spirited account of what took place seems fairly accurate and instructive :

“ The Governour past to Lynlythgw, quhair the erle of Lenox departed fra him secreitlie on the nycht, and past to Glasgw with

⁵ *Diurnall of Occurrents*, p. 32.

men and all kynd of munitione. Quhen certane knowlege wes brocht to the Governour that the erle of Lenox wes thus suddentlie departed, and that he had fortefeit Glasgw, tending to dissobey his authoritie, suddentlie convenit ane pouer of his awin freindis, most speciall with the assistance of the Lord Boyde, and tuik his journey towart Glasgw, quhair the erle of Lenox and Glencairne had convenit gret pouer of thair freindis for resisting of the persuit of the governour, and determinat to meit him furth of the toun of Glasgw and gif him battell ; bot the erle of Lenox him self tareit not upoun the straikis, bot departed thairforthe immediatlie befor the battell to Dumbartane castell, quhair he remaned all the tyme of the field ; and the erle of Glencarne accompaneit with the lairdis Tullibarne, Houstoun, Buchannane, M'Farlan, Drumquhassill, and mony utheris baronis and gentillmen of the Lenox and barrony of Ranfrew, and utheris places thairabout, with the haill burgesses, communitie, and abill kirkmen of the citie of Glasgw, come furth of the toun and arrayed thame in battell upoun the muir of Glasgw, ane myle from the citie, apoune the eist pairte thairrof. The governour with his army approcheing to thame, lychtit upoun fuit, and suddentlie both the armeis with sic forces ran together and joyned, that none culd persistentlie discerne quhilk of thame made the first onset. It wes cruellie fochin a lang space on ather syd, with uncertine victorie, and grit slauchter on boith the sydis. Bot at last the victorie inclyned to the governour, and the uther parte was constraned to gife bakis and flie. Thair wes on Lenox parte slayne mony gentill men preistis and commonis, and speciallie the laird of Houstoun ; and the laird of Minto, being then provest of Glesgw, was evill hurt, and mony takin presoners. And on the governouris syd the lairds of Kamskeyth and Silvertounhill war slayne with dyverse utheris. The governour, following his victorie, entered in the toun and besegit the castell and stepill, quhilk was randerit to him. Bot presentlie he causit saxtene gentill men, quho kepit the same, to be hangit at the Croce of Glasgw, and pardonit the utheris inferiors suddartis. The hoill citie wes spulyeit, and war not the speciall labouris of the Lord Boyd, quha maid earnest supplicatioune to the governour for sauftie of the same, the hoill toun, with the bischoppe and channonis houssis, had bene alluterlie brint and destroyit.”⁶

⁶ Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club) pp. 176-7.

Lesley adds that at the desire of Lennox, then in Dumbarton, the Earl of Angus and Lord Maxwell came to Glasgow to negotiate, but the governor secretly removed them "furth of the Black Freris of Glasgow, quhair the counsell was holdin for the tyme," and sent them to Hamilton Castle.

In the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts interesting details are given as to the furnishing of men and munitions for the siege of the Bishop's castle and also regarding the encounter on the muir. At the outset, on 26th March, one hundred "men of weir, with culverings" and artillery were sent to Glasgow; and there were "movit furth of the castell of Edinburgh," a cannon, culvering and small artillery, 154 horses were hired "to carry and draw the samyn to Glasgow," and four carts were used for carrying powder, bullets and other necessities. Sixty men "with schule and mattok," accompanied the artillery to assist it through the rough places on the journey. Some treasure had been secured in the castle and, on 6th April, money was paid for the carriage of "ane coffer full of sylver wark furth of Glasgw to the castell of Edinburgh." After "the feild strikkin on the mure," payments are made to "barbours" for services and drugs in the cure of wounded soldiers, compensation was given for killed horses, and other outlays are classed as "expensis depursit upoun men of weir, carying of artalze and necessaris belanging thairto, in this moneth of May."⁷

The only substantial addition known to have been made to the Bishop's castle after Beaton's time was a gatehouse and arched gateway added at the south-east corner and believed to be mainly if not entirely the work of Archbishop Dunbar. Over the gateway were an elaborate series of sculptures, on two separate stones, the one over the other. On the upper stone was the arms of Scotland with the supporting unicorns, and bearing the initial of James V., "J. 5.", who died in 1542,

⁷ *L. H. T. Accounts*, viii. pp. 271, *et seq.*

while Dunbar was living. On the lower stone are two shields, one being sculptured with the archbishop's paternal arms, and having the salmon with the ring underneath. On the lower shield are the arms of James Houstoun, subdean, who acted as vicar-general for a portion of the period during the vacancy of the see after 1547. The subdean was a great friend of the archbishop, who appointed him executor of his will and entrusted him with the erection of his stately sepulchre of brass in the chancel of the cathedral, the repairs of a spire or belfry, the founding of certain bells and the purchase of episcopal ornaments bequeathed to the metropolitan church.⁸ In such circumstances it is not unlikely that the lower sculptured stone was placed by the subdean after the archbishop's death in 1547.⁹

In June of the following year (1545) a meeting of the Privy Council was held at Glasgow, at which there were present the Queen-mother, Governor Arran, Cardinal Beaton, chancellor, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and others. Shortly before this a French army had "cum to the realme of Scotland for defense thereof aganis our old inymyis of England." The French soldiers had disembarked at Dumbarton, and as some of them were in Glasgow or its vicinity the governor and lords of council enjoined the provost and bailies to fix the

⁸ *Lib. Coll.* etc. p. xiii. Mr. Joseph Bain, in an article in the *Archaeological Journal* for December, 1892, has suggested that it was one of the archbishop's bells which was recast in 1594. The expense was borne by taxation, though Marcus Knox, the city treasurer at that time, has in some quarters been credited with bearing it from his own means. The bell of 1594, as recast in 1790, and bearing a long inscription referring to the "gift" by Marcus Knox, now lies in the chapter-house of the cathedral, having been replaced by a new bell presented by Mr. John Garroway in 1896.

⁹ These two stones were removed from the gateway about the year 1760 and built into the back part of the tenement 22 High Street. Shortly before the year 1880 the proprietor of that building presented the stones to Sir William Dunbar, the lineal descendant of the Dunbars of Mochrum, for the purpose of being built into his new mansion in Wigtonshire (Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow*, 1880 edition, pp. 117-8).

prices of flesh, bread, and ale, to be sold to the foreigners, —the best carcase of mutton to be 10s., and the best carcase of beef to be 28s.¹⁰

As a necessary consequence of his English adherence, the Scottish estates of the Earl of Lennox were declared to be forfeited. This terminated for the time his connection with Glasgow, and the archbishop, in 1545, appointed the Earl of Arran and his heirs to be bailies and justices of all the lands in the barony and regality of Glasgow for the period of nineteen years, with power to hold courts and exercise the usual functions, but he was forbidden to appoint or remove officers without consent of the archbishop or his successors.¹ It may be assumed that Arran's judicial duties would be chiefly performed by a depute-bailie who, according to usual custom, would be provost of Glasgow for the time. During the greater part of the ensuing nineteen years the provostship was possessed by members of the Hamilton family.

The day and month are left blank in the Letters of Bailiary, but that document was probably granted about the same time as a bond given by the earl to the archbishop and chapter of

¹⁰ *Privy Council Reg.* i. p. 3. For bringing the guns and ammunition from the French ships to Glasgow and thence eastward, several items of expenditure are noticed in the accounts. Payments are made for boats furth of Greenock, taking artillery, hagbuts, bullets, powder, "and other graith" to Glasgow, and 108 "drauchts" of material were taken "fra the brig of Glasgw to the castell of the samyn." Of this quantity "twenty draucht of cannon bullatis" were taken from the castle to the bridge and "sent down the water in boittis, and in the 'Lyoune' to be carryit about to Leith." Artillery and ammunition were also carried by the barony men and others from the castle to Linlithgow, apparently for the purpose of being shipped at Blackness port and taken to Leith, whence it was carried to Edinburgh castle (*L.H.T. Accounts*, viii. pp. 378-81). On 6th August, 1547 the sum of 24s. was paid "for carage of 29 gret barrellis pulder furth of Leith to Edinburgh quhilk come furth of Glasgow to Blaknes and fra Blaknes to Leith in Peter Smythis boit" (*Ibid.* ix. p. 103). The artillery and ammunition was no doubt carried from Glasgow to Linlithgow port along the road frequented by traffic in earlier times, as mentioned *antea*, pp. 177-8.

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission*: Report xi; Appx. 6, p. 221, No. 161.

Glasgow in April, 1545. This bond was seen and examined by Father Innes who states that it was of the same tenor as the bond granted by Arran, then duke of Chatelherault, on 6th February, 1557-8.² It, therefore, appears that the earl undertook to defend the archbishop and chapter and their kirk, their lands, servants and tenants, from all unjust attacks and injuries. The bond of 1557-8 refers to "this perilous and dangerous tyme, quhair detestabil heresies ryse and increasis in the diocy of Glasgow"; and the earl specially promised to assist and concur with the archbishop in expelling of heresies within the diocese and in punishing of heretics. In all likelihood these passages, equally applicable to both periods, were repetitions from the earlier bond.

During the year 1545 King Henry continued his destructive raids on this country; but, in another direction, the execution of George Wishart, in March 1545-6, and the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, within three months thereafter, were of more fateful consequence. The siege of St. Andrews castle, sheltering the conspirators and their associates, including John Knox, endured till July, 1547, but the triumph of the French party in that deliverance preceded by only a couple of months the crushing defeat which the English inflicted on the Scots at Pinkie Cleuch. Still the Scots had no thought of submission, reinforcements were obtained from France, the youthful Queen Mary, now affianced to the French Dauphin, had sailed from Dumbarton in the end of July, 1548, and safely reached the coast of France. For some time longer the English continued their oppressive depredations, though meeting with determined resistance and attaining only partial success. At last they were glad to negotiate for peace, which was secured in the spring of 1550.

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 526; *Tabula*, vol. ii. p. xxx; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 125-6. It may be mentioned that the word "ryde," occurring twice in the bond of 1557-8, is misprinted "syde."

On account of its situation Glasgow so far escaped the ravages which overtook the eastern and southern districts during the ferocious raids of "our auld enemies," during which so many towns, abbeys and churches were destroyed. The citizens, however, had their share of the troubles which disturbed Scotland during the early stages of the Reformation, and they had to join in the levies raised for the defence of the Borders, or for other purposes of a military nature. As an illustration of the city's liability for service on such occasions, it may be mentioned that when, in November, 1552, the Queen-dowager planned the raising of a body of foot soldiers for service in France, three hundred of whom were to be got from the burghs, Glasgow was called upon for its quota.³

The Queen-dowager's accession to the regency of the kingdom in April, 1554, when her daughter was approaching the twelfth year of her age, introduced increased energy into the administration of public affairs, though a proposal which she made for having a standing army met with effective opposition. But a fleet and army were entrusted with the restoration of order in the Highlands and Western Islands, and in this connection a burghess of Glasgow was, on 1st August, 1555, paid £200 "for the fraucht of his schip to pas with my lord of Ergyle in the Ilis."⁴ Some persons who had failed to join an army summoned to assemble at Dumfries, on 20th July, 1554, "for fortification of the rule of our Lady the Queen," were tried and convicted in a court of justiciary, held at Glasgow, in the following October.⁵

Though French influences continued active there prevailed among statesmen a wholesome dread of encroachment from

³ *L.H.T. Accounts*, x. p. 148. This scheme was not favourably received throughout the country and was abandoned.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 287.

⁵ *L.H.T. Accounts*, x. pp. 259, 301. Next year there is this entry:—"To the officers that keipit the Tolbuith of Glasgw, the 14, 15 and 16 October, the tyme of the Justice Courts, 26s. 8d." (*Ibid.* p. 299).

that quarter, and the regent was not allowed to forget that there were limits to foreign ascendancy. Urged by France to make war in England, the regent, in October, 1557, brought together a large army at Kelso, but the leading nobles, including the duke of Chatelherault, flatly refused to march with it across the border.

The time having arrived for fulfilment of the matrimonial engagement, the Dauphin of France and the Queen of Scots were married in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, on 24th April, 1558. The ceremonial was observed in France with special splendour, and that rejoicing was not neglected in this country, is shown by instructions issued to several burghs, including Glasgow, "to mak fyris and processioun generale, for the completing and solemnizing of the marriage betuix our Soverane Ladie and the Dolphine of France." ⁶

All this time the new religious opinions had been making progress among the Scottish people. An act of the privy council, dated 11th June, 1546, within a fortnight after the cardinal's death, expresses the dread that in these troublous times evil disposed persons would destroy abbeys, churches and other religious places, and proclamations were ordered forbidding such ravages or the spoiling of kirk jewels and ornaments, under penalty of loss of life, lands and goods.⁷ In March of the following year a provincial council of the Scottish clergy besought the regent to take steps for the defence of the true religion, the land being then "infected with the pestilentious heresies of Luther, his sect and followers." ⁸ The clergy were now getting seriously alarmed and in order that the position might be fully discussed a Provincial Council assembled in the church of the Friars Preachers of Edinburgh, on 27th November, 1549. At this council, which was presided over by the primate, John Hamilton, archbishop

⁶ *L.H.T. Accounts*, x. p. 365.

⁷ *Privy Counc. Reg.* i. pp. 28, 29.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 63.

of St. Andrews, and attended by a large body of clergy, including Gavin Hamilton, dean of the metropolitan church of Glasgow and vicar general of the vacant see, a series of ordinances were passed, calling for the reformation of morals and improvement in religious observances and instruction.⁹ Several acts of parliament passed against unruly conduct, and for securing the enforcement of church order and discipline, indicate the prevailing tendency to revolt against the system then existing,¹⁰ while the burning of "heretics," such as Adam Wallace, in 1550, and Walter Mill, in April, 1558, only served to promote the cause for which those martyrs suffered.

A ten-months' visit of John Knox to Scotland, in 1555-6, gave a powerful impetus to the movement, which continued to grow in definiteness of purpose as well as in the number of its adherents. In December, 1557, a bond or covenant was entered into by the Earl of Argyle and others, binding themselves never to rest till the reformed faith was set up as the national religion. The leaders, known as "The Lords of the Congregation," had a series of interviews with the Queen-regent, in the hope of effecting a settlement, but these negotiations had been unfruitful, and after John Knox's return to Scotland, in May, 1559, and the violent outbreak at Perth before the end of that month, all expectations of a peaceful arrangement were dissolved.

⁹ *Statutes of Scottish Church* (Scottish History Society, No. 54), p. 84, *et seq.*

¹⁰ An act of parliament passed on 1st February, 1551-2, narrates that "thair is divers prentaris in this realme that daylie and continuallie prentis bukis concerning the faith, ballatis, sangis, blasphematiounis rymes, alsweill of kirkmen as temporall, and utheris tragedeis, alsweill in Latine as in Inglis tounge, not sene, vewit and considerit be the superiouris as appertenis, to the defamatioun and sclander of the liegis of this realme." To "put order to sic inconvenientis," parliament ordained that no one should print books, ballads, songs, rymes or tragedies, till seen by authorised examiners and the subsequent granting of a licence by the Queen and Lord Governor. (*A.P.S.* ii. p. 488.)

CHAPTER L

ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS AND GLASGOW—THEIR
RIVALRY — ARCHBISHOP DUNBAR — VICARS-GENERAL
DURING VACANT SEE—ARCHBISHOPS GORDON AND
BEATON—PRIVILEGE OF SANCTUARY CLAIMED FOR
PLACE OF BLACKFRIARS—SEALS OF CAUSE TO MASONS
AND OTHER CRAFTSMEN

ANY procedure which might be regarded as indicating a claim of supremacy by the see of St. Andrews over that of Glasgow was jealously watched and repudiated by the archbishop and clergy of the latter city. In the end of November, 1535, Archbishop Beaton, being in the town of Dumfries, in Glasgow diocese, and having taken the opportunity of elevating his episcopal cross and blessing the people, Archbishop Dunbar's official protested that these acts, understood to be done by agreement between the two archbishops, were not to be prejudicial to the privileges of Glasgow. Four years later similar proceedings are recorded, Cardinal Beaton having then elevated his cross in the town of Dumfries, but with the declaration and admission that the rights of Glasgow were not thereby prejudiced.¹

If the two Dumfries incidents were not deemed innovations on Glasgow's rights, different views were entertained regarding similar procedure in the cathedral. Dates and circumstances as variously recounted are conflicting, but it

¹ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 500, 502.

seems certain that towards the end of the year 1543, or in the spring of 1544, within the choir of the cathedral, the archbishop protested that the carrying of the cardinal's cross in the metropolitan church, or elsewhere in his diocese or province, should not be allowed to the prejudice of Glasgow's exemption from the predominance of St. Andrews. To this the cardinal replied that he did not carry his cross, or give benediction within the church to the prejudice of the exemption granted by the Pope but solely by reason of the goodwill and courtesy of the archbishop.² But shortly after this came the climax. In June, 1545, when the Queen-mother, Lord Governor Arran, Cardinal Beaton, and several bishops and abbots, were in Glasgow, attending a meeting of the privy council, a contest arose between the archbishop and the cardinal, and their cross-bearers, culminating in a serious riot, in the course of which blows were struck and wounds given, copes and vestments were torn, and the crosses of both metropolitans were broken.³

Archbishop Dunbar died on 30th April, 1547, and thereafter the see remained vacant for nearly three years. James Hamilton, "natural brother of our illustrious governour," was nominated by the Queen-dowager, under an arrangement whereby £1,000 of the revenues should be assigned to David

² *Reg. Episc.* No. 504.

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. liv, lv; Dowden's *Bishops*, pp. 346-7; *Works of John Knox*, i. pp. 146-7; *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 39. This incident and also the reception of the French forces referred to *antea*, p. 372, is thus noticed in the *Diurnal*:—"31st May. The King of France sent 2000 gunnaris, 300 bairdit hors and 200 archearis of the gaird and landit at Dumbartane with greit provision and thair wageis payit for sax monethis to cum and silver to fie 2000 Scottis for the said sax monthis space. Upoun the fourt of Junii thir Frenchemen come out of Dunbartane, quhair thai wer ressavit be the Quenis grace and Governour with greit dignitie; the principall of thame was callit Monsieur Lorge Montgomery, quha was weil treitit be the quenis grace. Upone the same [day] the bischop of Glasgow pleit with the cardinall about the bering of his croce in his dyocie, and baith thair croceis was broken in the kirk of Glasgow throw thair stryving for the samin."

and Claud Hamilton, but the appointment did not take effect, and it was not till March, 1549-50, that the vacancy was filled by the installation of Alexander Gordon, brother of the fourth earl of Huntly. Gordon did not retain office much more than a year, and on 4th September, 1551, the Pope, at the request of the Queen-dowager, provided to the see James Beaton, son of an elder brother of Cardinal Beaton. The new archbishop had been a chanter in Glasgow cathedral, was abbot of Aberbrothock from about the year 1545, and when he received the archbishopric of Glasgow was in the 27th year of his age. After passing through the stages of acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon and priest, at Rome in July, he was there consecrated as archbishop on 28th August, 1552. From bulls, instruments and other documents recorded in *Registrum Episcopatus* many particulars are preserved regarding the placing of Beaton both at Aberbrothock and Glasgow. These include an absolution from papal censure, a dispensation on account of incomplete age (the attainment of thirty years being the requisite qualification for a bishop), mandates to the suffragans of the archbishopric, chapter and clergy, and calls for obedience to be given to the archbishop by the people of the city and diocese and by the vassals in the lands belonging to the church.⁴

During the vacancies in the see archiepiscopal affairs were administered by vicars-general, James Houston, sub-dean, having been vicar-general for part of the years 1547 and 1548; and on several occasions between the years 1549-51 Gavin Hamilton, dean of the metropolitan church, is found acting in that capacity. The revenues of the see were under the charge of "Archibald Hammiltoun, captain of Arrane," who acted as "chamberlain of the archbishop," from the decease of

⁴ *Reg. Episc.* Nos. 507-19; Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 350.

Archbishop Dunbar, in 1547 till the entry of Beaton in 1551.⁵

Archibald Hamilton seems to have been succeeded by "Mr. Stevin Betoune, chamberlain of the castle of Glasgow," who, along with the magistrates of the city, had to defend himself on a charge of violating the sanctuary privileges alleged to belong to the Place of the Friars Preachers of Glasgow. On 3rd June, 1553, two men named William Culquhoun and Hew Lockhart, in the course of a quarrel, had hurt each other, within the city, and Culquhoun "fled into the said Place and sanctuary for girth." Thereupon Lockhart's kin and friends came and took him by force furth of the kirk and delivered him to the provost and bailies of the city and chamberlain of the castle, all of whom refused to restore him to the freedom and privilege of the sanctuary. In a complaint made to the lords of council, the prior and convent of the Friars Preachers alleged that since the foundation of their Place, "or past memor of man" it had possessed the privileges of sanctuary and girth, at least for recent and sudden crimes, and so reverently observed that it had never formerly been violated by any person so far as could be remembered. It was accordingly maintained that the conduct of the magistrates and chamberlain was "to grait hurt of the freedome and privilege of Halie Kirk, violatioun of the said sanctuarie, nane uther being in the west parteis of the realme fra Torphiching⁶ west, bot the said place allanerlie, sen the tulye was committit upone suddantie, and na partie is slane be ather." The defenders called upon the complainers to produce evidence of the privilege claimed by them, and the court having heard the declaration of the priors of other "places" in Scotland, to the effect that "thai never newe sic

⁵ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1348.

⁶ Torphichen, the chief seat in Scotland of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

privilege of girth grantit to thame," it was held that the claim of sanctuary had not been established.⁷

By the middle of the sixteenth century, most of the different craftsmen employed in the building trade were grouped together in one society and it was under these circumstances that, on the application of the head men and masters of the masons, wrights, coopers, sawyers, quarriers, and others, dwelling within the city, the magistrates and council confirmed to them a series of statutes and articles whereby the combined crafts attained the quality of an incorporation in the usual way. To the altar of St. Thomas the customary contributions were to be given, and the usual conditions of apprenticeship, service, inspection and sufficiency of work were likewise inserted in the seal of cause. Its date is 14th October, 1551, a month after Archbishop Beaton had been provided to the see, but some time before he entered on the duties or obtained consecration, and consequently the document has this peculiarity that it was granted and sealed by the magistrates and council alone, without the expressed consent of the archbishop.⁸ All other pre-Reformation seals of cause were granted by the magistrates and council, with the consent and under the seals of the respective archbishops.

⁷ *Lib. Coll.* etc. pp. lxiii, lxiv. From the statement that there was no other sanctuary than the Blackfriars west of Torphichen, it may be assumed that by this time the Gyrth crosses and Gyrth-burn had ceased to be regarded as the bounds of a privileged area around the cathedral.

⁸ Cruikshank's *Incorporation of Masons* (1879), pp. 3-6.

CHAPTER LI

MODE OF ELECTION OF GLASGOW MAGISTRATES—ROYAL COMMISSION ON ARCHBISHOP'S RIGHTS—DUES CLAIMED BY ARCHBISHOP—CONVENTION OF BURGHS

SIR ROBERT STEWART of Minto seems to have been succeeded in the provostship by Archibald Dunbar of Baldoon who is found in office in 1538. The name of "John Punfrastoun, provost of Glasgow," is noted as a witness on 16th October, 1539.¹ The next provost whose name is traced was Andrew Hamilton, but all that is found regarding him is the statement that for causing his death the laird of Bishopton, and others, were "dilated" on 8th October, 1541. John Stewart of Minto was provost in 1543, Andrew Hamilton of Middop in 1545, Archibald Dunbar of Baldoon in 1547, James Hamilton of Torrens in 1549-50, and then it is probable that Andrew Hamilton of Cochnocht, in Dumbartonshire, held office from 1551 till 1559, and perhaps longer, though, apart from the dates mentioned, his tenure of the provostship has not been traced in more than one of the intervening years. The appointment of provost belonged to the archbishop, but as the bailie-depute of the regality was usually selected, the holder of the office for the time was likely to be acceptable both to the archbishop and to the chief bailie of the regality.²

¹ *Lib. Coll.* etc. p. 60.

² *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. p. 634; *A.P.S.* ii. p. 471.

Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, i. pt. ii. p. 361.* In his *History of Glasgow* published in 1777, John Gibson, who seems to have had access to records not

At a parliament held at Edinburgh on 14th August, 1546, the city of Glasgow was represented by a commissioner named Andrew Hamilton, presumably the provost of that name, who was designated of Middop, supposed to be Midhope in the parish of Abercorn, Linlithgowshire. No earlier parliamentary representative of the city appears on record. This perhaps is to be explained by disappearance of parliamentary sederunts or it may be that the city had hitherto neglected to appoint a commissioner. There was no change of circumstances in 1546 to account for the attendance of a Glasgow representative for the first time in that year, and therefore it may be assumed that, whether advantage was taken of the privilege or not, the city was entitled before that time to send a commissioner to parliament.

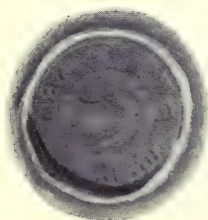
As the bailies were chosen by the archbishop from a leet selected by former members of the town council, at the head burgh court held after Michaelmas, yearly, it is probable that, on account of the unsettled condition of episcopal affairs, there was no opportunity for an election in normal form between Michaelmas, 1546, preceding the death of Archbishop Dunbar, and Michaelmas, 1552, following the consecration of Archbishop Beaton, and to judge from the sequel there was some irregularity even then. At the approach of Michaelmas 1553 preparations were made for preserving a record of the proceedings for future guidance, and a notary was instructed to set down the facts in a formal instrument. From this document it appears that on the Tuesday following Michaelmas, being 3rd October, 1553, the provost and magistrates, at the desire of the town council, came into the inner flower garden, beside the Bishop's Palace, where the archbishop was conversing now extant, says that Lord Belhaven was provost in 1541. The title " Lord Belhaven " in the Scottish peerage was not conferred till 1648, but the ancestors of the first lord were the Hamiltons of Broomhill, in the parish of Dalserf, Lanarkshire, and it may have been one of these who was provost about the year 1541.



THE LAST CHAPTER SEAL OF GLASGOW.



SEAL OF COURT OF THE
OFFICIAL OF GLASGOW
USED IN 1533.



SEAL AND COUNTER SEAL OF THE CHAPTER OF GLASGOW
"FOR CAUSES," USED IN 1488-1540.

with some canons of his chapter. There much discussion arose, on both sides, regarding the election of the bailies, thus showing that one side or the other was dissatisfied with the previous practice, and perhaps parties were not quite at one in their conception of the actual facts regarding former procedure. At last the delegates from the town council presented to the archbishop a list or leet of "some of the most eminent and worthy men of the city" and asked him to nominate two of them as bailies for the ensuing year. On the archbishop complying with this desire by pointing out with his finger the names of John Hall and John Muir, the attending provost and magistrates promised that these two should be elected as bailies, using these words:—"We sall do your lordship's will." So saying, the deputation returned to the tolbooth; and after they left, the archbishop said to the canons that for removal of all "further" contention respecting the nomination and election of bailies, all the business then transacted would be set down in an instrument which a notary was instructed to prepare.³

Complete information is not available regarding the revenues derived by the archbishops from the burgh. It is known that sixteen merks were yearly paid to them by the burgesses as rentallers of the community lands, and they also drew the customs of the Tron to which they obtained a grant from the crown in 1489-90, as well as other customs, particulars of which have not been ascertained. The mode of collecting the latter customs, both before and after 1547 is gathered from a tack entered into on 16th April of that year, whereby Archbishop Dunbar, with consent of the dean and chapter of the metropolitan kirk, set to Henry Crawford, parish clerk of Cadder, the whole of the archbishop's customs of the burgh, all as the same had been let to the same tacksman for several bypast years, and that for the space of nineteen years from

³ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 119-21.

Whitsunday, 1546, for payment to the archbishop and his successors of £24 yearly. But the money was not to remain in the archbishop's hands. The sum of £20 was to be given to the regents of the College and the remainder went to the chaplains of the altars *Nominis Jesus* and Our Lady of Piety, founded by Archbishop Blacader.⁴

But over and above these revenues which, presumably, were regularly collected, Archbishop Beaton seems to have claimed certain duties from the community, liability for which they repudiated, and the lords of secret council were called on to decide the question. The decree, another of the inventoried documents abstracted from the city's repositories, was pronounced on 10th December, 1554. From its description as contained in the city's Inventory of Writs it is gathered that the community was sued "for alleging itself to be doted and infest by the bishop's predecessors in certain privileges and liberties and to be infest be the king," and for not paying certain duties to the archbishop. The community were also called upon to produce the writings concerning the bishop, but owing to the loss of the document the purport of the proceedings is not disclosed in an intelligible form, nor is there much to be learned from the reported negative result when "the lords assoilzies this burgh frae the lybell."⁵

One dispute seems to have led to another, and the period of annual election having again come round about two months before the Privy Council gave their decision in the proceedings just alluded to, a body of citizens, thirty-five in number, elected two bailies of the city without submitting a leet to the archbishop, as had been done with such formality so recently as the preceding year. Information on this subject is obtained from a Commission by Queen Mary, under her great seal, with consent of James duke of Chatelherault, earl of Arran,

⁴ *Antea*, p. 294; *Reg. Episc.* No. 486; *Glasg. Chart.* ii. pp. 511-2.

⁵ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. p. 121.

as bailie-principal of the regality of Glasgow, dated 12th February, 1554-5, whereby Robert Heriot and three others were authorised to hold courts of the bailiary of the regality of Glasgow, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, for the purpose of hearing and deciding upon the complaint of Archbishop Beaton regarding the election of the magistrates of Glasgow. The archbishop represented that the privilege of nominating the provost and choosing the bailies from leets belonged to him and had been enjoyed by his predecessors beyond the memory of man, "or at least for sixty, fifty, forty or twenty years preceding Michaelmas last." The circumstances connected with the disputed election were then narrated and the archbishop's claim to be supported in his rights and privileges was submitted to the commissioners, it being considered inexpedient to have the action prosecuted before the bailie-principal of the archbishop or his deputed in the city of Glasgow. The commissioners were sworn before the lords of council at Edinburgh on 25th February, 1554-5, but the proceedings cannot be further traced. From what is known of subsequent election procedure and specially from the action of the magistrates and community at election time in 1561, when to show their willingness "to obtemper and obey the decreet of the lords of council," commissioners sought the archbishop or his representative at his castle and mansion place,⁶ it would appear that the regality commissioners decided in favour of the archbishop's claims. So far as can be ascertained, the archbishop up till the time he left the city, continued to nominate the provost and to choose the bailies from a leet, but after that was done the commissions both to provost and bailies were no doubt granted by the town council in the manner previously explained.⁷

The earliest minute book of the Convention of Burghs

⁶ *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. i. pp. 540-2; ii. pp. 126-7.

⁷ *Antea*, p. 210.

begins on 4th April, 1552, on which day, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, there convened "the provestis and commissaris of the Borrois of this realme," including "Andro Hamiltoun, provest of Glasgow, and John Mwre, commissinar thairof." At the outset a series of statutes was ratified and approved, the first of these referring to an ordinance made "of lang tyme bipast," for the convention holding yearly meetings, and it was resolved that this rule should in future be observed, representatives convening in July, yearly, in such place as the convention might appoint. In this renewed vitality an improved administration was contemplated in several particulars. Uniformity was to be attained in weights and measures, the Lanark stone, the Stirling pint, the Linlithgow firloft and the Edinburgh elwand. Complaints had been made against burghs for innovations in exacting petty customs and each burgh was in future to conform to the Edinburgh table. Edinburgh was also to furnish the model for the election of provost, bailies, treasurer, dean of guild and council. All the burghs sustained loss through some of their burgesses dwelling outside the burgh, and not bearing their shares of burgh charges, and to remedy this neglect proclamation was to be made at the market cross of each burgh, calling upon their freemen to reside in the burgh and watch, ward and bear taxation proportioned to their substance.

At the convention held at Edinburgh, in the following July, that burgh and Stirling produced their measures, but Lanark and Linlithgow were defaulters. Of the ensuing convention, appointed to be held at Stirling, no record has been preserved. The next convention of which there is a minute was held at Edinburgh in May, 1555, when Glasgow was represented by William Hiegait, probably the notary of that name, who for several years held the office of town clerk of the city. Owing to changes in the condition of some of the burghs, tending to decay through the effects of war, pestilence and other

troubles, since the time of James IV., a committee was appointed to make the necessary inquiries and to frame a new tax roll, adapted to the ability of the respective burghs to share the contributions levied from the general body. It was reported on 18th September, 1555, that the tax roll had been altered, but unfortunately no particulars are given. In an allocation made in 1556, Glasgow still stood eleventh on the roll, as it did in 1535, but perhaps the alterations reported in 1555 had not yet come into operation. In a taxation allocated on 6th September, 1557, Stirling, St. Andrews and Haddington got lower places and Glasgow stood eighth on the roll.⁸

Inequality in the exaction of petty customs as well as of haven duty still prevailed in 1555, rendering travellers liable to the exactions of "ignorant and gredie keparis of portis and hevynis of the borrowis of this realme." A table of dues from the petty custom books of Edinburgh was therefore to be transmitted to each burgh, with instructions to adhere to the rates there specified and avoid "extortionis" in future. Burgesses were subject to lower rates than unfreemen, and to secure this benefit unfree merchants sometimes joined with burgesses in partnership and the convention passed an act against the continuance of such practices. In sea traffic, also, skippers and shipowners communicated privileges to unfreemen, and to prevent evasion of that sort merchants were directed to freight their ships in presence of the dean of guild or a bailie and not to sail without a ticket which was to be granted to none but freemen.⁹

⁸ *Conv. Rec.* i. pp. 1-14, 21, 26.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 10-12. Referring to an act of parliament requiring burghs to have just weights and measures, the convention ordained each burgh to choose, yearly, a dean of guild who should see to the observance of that order (*Ibid.* p. 14). Glasgow had many reminders from the convention about the appointment of a dean of guild before the establishment of its guildry in 1605.

CHAPTER LII

PRIVILEGES OF BURGHS—LIBERTIES AND PRIVILEGES OF
CRAFTSMEN—DEACONS DISCHARGED AND VISITORS
SUBSTITUTED—THESE CONDITIONS DISPENSED WITH—
TRADING IN WEST SEAS—EXACTIONS ON HERRING
FISHING—SUMMER PLAYS

IN the Queen-regent's first parliament many wise and useful acts were passed for improving the administration of justice throughout the country and there was also some experimental legislation specially affecting the burghs. It is understood that on these subjects the regent was chiefly guided not by her French advisers but by the sage counsel of Henry Sinclair, dean of Glasgow, a man of profound legal knowledge and eminent as a scholar and statesman.¹

By one of the burgh statutes it was recalled that for many bygone years, through trouble of wars, the estate of burgesses had suffered both in their lands and goods, and also that their

¹ *Tytler*, iii. p. 76; where the more important statutes are alluded to. Henry Sinclair, second son of Sir Oliver St. Clair of Roslin was educated for the church at the university of St. Andrews. He was highly esteemed by James V. and was for years in his family. On 13th November, 1537, he was admitted an ordinary lord of session, and on 16th December, 1538, he was appointed rector of Glasgow primo. The commendatorship of Kilwinning he held from 1541 till 1550 when he exchanged that benefice for the deanery of Glasgow, then held by Gavin Hamilton. On being appointed bishop of Ross, in 1560, he had to resign the deanery, but was allowed to retain the prebend of Glasgow primo. Sinclair was lord president of the court of session from 1558 till his death in 1565. (*Senators of the College of Justice* (1836) pp. 58-60; Dowden's *Bishops*, p. 228.)

privileges constituted by royal grants and acts of parliament, had not been duly observed and kept, and parliament therefore ratified all these privileges to burghs, burgesses and merchants, and ordained the lords of council to exercise their authority in enforcing the statutes. The act of James IV. requiring ships coming to free burghs in the west seas to observe certain rules² was ordered to be renewed, with an addition requiring that no one should purchase merchandise from strangers but only from freemen at free ports of the burghs.

All the burghs of the west country, such as Irvine, Ayr, Dumbarton and Glasgow, had been in the practice of resorting yearly to the fishing of Loch Fyne and other lochs in the North Isles, for the herring and other fishing, and hitherto they had been subject to no other exaction than the payment of the fishermen. Nevertheless some countrymen, dwelling beside Loch Fyne, had begun to charge custom on every last of herring taken in the loch, as high as the Queen's custom. On hearing of this new exaction parliament ordained that it should be discharged and not taken from the burgesses in respect of any herring or fishes taken by them in the lochs, for furnishing of their own houses and the country. This provision does not seem to have applied to fish caught for export, but perhaps home supply was mainly looked for at that time. On the same day as the fishing act was passed, parliament, referring to the increasing dearth in the country, of victuals and flesh, caused by the export of these, prohibited their removal from the country, except in so far as might be necessary for victualling ships and vessels during their voyage. But it allowed the inhabitants of the burghs of Ayr, Irvine, Glasgow and Dumbarton, and others dwelling at the west seas, to take baken bread, brewed ale and aquavita^e to the Isles to barter with other merchandise.³

² *Antea*, p. 244.

³ *Clyde Burghs*, p. 23.

For the due exercise of their privilege of free trade throughout the kingdom facility of passage from one town to another was indispensable, and it was with the view of securing this object that parliament ordained that all common highways, formerly in use for going from or coming to a burgh, and specially all common highways from "dry" burghs to ports and havens, should be observed and kept and that no one should cause interruption to such traffic. In this provision Glasgow, which in a limited sense might then be regarded as a "dry" burgh, was protected in the use of the highway leading from the city to the free port of Linlithgow.

Some suspicion was entertained that the formation of bodies of craftsmen into a number of small confederacies afforded opportunity for raising class disturbances, and it was considered that if the centralising authority of the deacons were withdrawn the risk might be lessened; and, on 20th June, 1555, an act of parliament was passed for that purpose. In the words of this statute, the choosing of deacons and men of craft within burgh was dangerous, as they had caused great trouble in burghs, commotion and rising of the lieges, by making of leagues and bonds among themselves, and betwixt burgh and burgh. It was therefore ordained that there should be no deacon chosen in future; but the provost, bailies and council of the burgh were to choose the most honest man, one of each craft, to visit the craftsmen and see that they laboured sufficiently and produced satisfactory work. Appointed at Michaelmas yearly, the visitors were to give oath for the true performance of their duties, without any power of assembling the craftsmen or of making any acts or statutes; but all craftsmen to be under the magistrates and council. The visitors were to have voting in the choosing of officers and in other things as the deacons formerly had. No craftsman was to bear office in burgh in future, except two "maist honest and famous," who were to be chosen yearly upon the

council and who were to be among the number of auditors of the common good, conform to previous acts of council.⁴

This act of parliament did not meet with acceptance and its main provisions were dispensed with by letters under the great seal, granted successively by the Regent, Queen Mary and King James VI. By the first of these documents, dated 16th April, 1556, only ten months after the act was passed, it is recited that seeing a well constituted state could not for long exist without good craftsmen, sovereigns had granted sundry privileges and liberties to craftsmen, including the right to choose deacons for inspection of work, to make statutes and to impose fines and inflict punishment, and good craftsmen who were burgesses were also allowed to navigate and use commerce like other merchants of the kingdom. The changes introduced by the act of 1555 are then referred to, and the Queen-regent states,—“we have learned that nothing has been done in pursuance of those causes and considerations which had moved our foresaid parliament to pass that measure ; nay, that everything is done more carelessly among those craftsmen at this day than formerly.” Desiring, therefore, not to abridge the craftsmen’s ancient privileges “without great, urgent and enduring cause, but that everything justly and properly granted in ancient time be restored to its pristine and original state, and also desiring to prevent dissensions and contentions among our merchants and tradesmen,” dispensations were granted to all craftsmen in regard to the act of parliament and all its clauses which obstructed the liberties and privileges formerly granted to them. Specially there was restored the right of having deacons of crafts who should have votes in electing officers of burghs. Craftsmen were to join in the audit of the common good accounts, were authorised to make lawful statutes and ordinances relating to their own crafts, for the preservation of good order among themselves

⁴ *Ancient Laws* (A.D. 1555), ii. pp. 77-81.

and the maintenance of divine service at the altars, and were allowed to navigate and exercise merchandise within and without the kingdom, as should seem to them most advantageous.⁵

Among the statutes of June, 1555, treating mainly on the serious concerns of everyday existence and the prosecution of trade and commerce, is placed a denouncement of the prevalent pastimes of the period, possibly a reaction on the celebrations of the previous month which may have been unusually demonstrative and disturbing to business people. Without preamble or explanation, parliament ordained that in future "na maner of persoun be chosin Robert Hude nor Lytill Johne, Abbot of Unressoun, Queenis of May, nouthur in burgh nor to landwart," heavy penalties being imposed for infringement. Women, also, "about simmer treis singand" and disturbing the lieges, in their passing through burghs and towns, were threatened with the "cukstulis." But these dramatic games and amusements were too popular to be easily suppressed, and they survived not only this but many subsequent prohibitions.⁶

⁵ *Reg. Mag. Sig.* iv. No. 1054. This concession and restoration was obviously valued by craftsmen. Letters in similar terms were granted by Queen Mary on 1st March, 1564 (*Ibid.* No. 1583), and by King James VI. with consent of his privy council, on 22nd July, 1581 (*Ibid.* v. No. 233); but in these Letters no reference is made to altars. All the Letters, with translations, are printed in *Conv. Rec.* ii. pp. 469-79.

⁶ *Ancient Laws*, p. 81. Robert Chambers describes a Robin Hood celebration and consequent riotous conduct at Edinburgh in 1561 (*Domestic Annals*, i. pp. 7-11); and though there is no early account of Glasgow amusements it may be assumed that the citizens shared in the current revels of the time.

CHAPTER LIII

EARLY COUNCIL RECORD—NAVIGATION OF THE RIVER CLYDE—UNIVERSITY'S EXEMPTION FROM TAXES AND SUBSIDIES—VICARAGE OF COLMONELL—SEAL OF CAUSE TO CORDINERS

WHEN John Gibson published his *History of Glasgow*, in 1777, he seems to have had access either to a council record going farther back than the earliest now in the city's repositories or to extracts from such a register. Quoting an ordinance and statute of the year 1556, "made be the baillie, Johne Muire, and the remanent counsell of the town and ceite, for the ingathering of the tax, laitlie devisit to be tane of the burrowes," Gibson shows that the city's share of a tax on the burghs in general was allocated on the citizens by "stenters" selected from the merchants and the several bodies of craftsmen. For the merchants twelve stenters were appointed, and for the craftsmen the smiths supplied 5; baxters, 3; cordiners, 2; tailors, 4; skimmers, 2; weavers, 4; masons, 4; mealmen and maltmen, 4; coopers, 3; and fleshers, 4.¹

Three years later Gibson again gives information apparently obtained from a now missing council record, mentioning that

¹ Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, pp. 79, 80. At this time Glasgow stood eleventh highest in a list of 42 contributing burghs. In the allocation of an impost on the burghs of 1,000 merks the following were the eleven highest contributors:—Edinburgh, £168; Stirling, £16; Glasgow, £13; Ayr, £15; Haddington, £20; Aberdeen, £63; Dundee, £84; Perth, £49; Montrose, £18, St. Andrews, £20; Cupar, £18; fractions omitted (*Conv. Rec.* i. pp. 521-2).

in 1559 the citizens elected their own magistrates at a time when the archbishop had left the town and taken up his quarters with the Queen-regent and the garrison in Leith fort.² Statutes and ordinances by the magistrates fixing the prices of ale, bread, tallow, candles and horse corn, on 30th September, 1560, are also quoted, a "grit dearth approaching to a famine," in 1563, is referred to and the price of wine in 1569 is restricted to 18d. the pint.³

Acts of the town council, dated 6th October, 1556, have been preserved in an extract under the hand of William Hegait, town clerk. On that day the provost, bailies and council ordained that the baxters, as the bakers were called, should have three market days in the week, viz., Monday, Wednesday and Friday, for bringing their bread to the cross, and no bread of outside bakers was to be sold at the cross except on these days. An outside traveller bringing bread to the market was not allowed to sell it to strangers in large quantities or wholesale⁴ till the inhabitants were served and twelve hours had struck. Only the traveller who brought the bread, and not any huckster, was allowed to sell it, and there were to be only two prices, 4d. and 2d., the weight varying with the market price.

Referring to election time in 1573, three months before the existing records begin, Gibson states that the claim of the bishop to appoint the magistrates was revived by Archbishop Boyd and that against this the council protested and for that

² Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, pp. 81, 82. James Denholm in his *History of Glasgow*, published in 1798 (p. 10) repeats this statement and expressly cites "Council Record" as his authority.

³ Gibson's *History*, pp. 82-84. Prices fixed:—ale, 4d. the pint; 4d. loaf to weigh 32 ounces; 2d. loaf, 16 ounces; tallow, 8s. the stone; candle, 6d. the pound; horse corn, 8d. the peck.

⁴ The words are:—"in laidis, creillis nor half creillis nor in gret the gidder." (Facsimile of Extract in *The Incorporation of Bakers of Glasgow*, 1891, p. 43.)

year chose their own magistrates.⁵ From this remark, and keeping in view the procedure at election time in 1561⁶ it may be inferred that since 1559 the citizens had elected their own magistrates, though as formerly the bailie of the regality had *ex officio* held the provostship. Lord Boyd, in 1573, succeeded Sir John Stewart of Minto, who had been bailie of the regality and provost of the burgh from at least the year 1565, by which time the Earl of Lennox had been reinvested in his estates.

Though no authority is cited, it was probably from an early council record that we have the first information about improvements on the navigation of the river Clyde, the channel of which, for about thirteen miles below the city, was so interrupted by fords and shoals as to render the passage difficult, even for craft of the smallest size. It is stated that in 1556, huts were erected near Dumbuck and inhabitants of Glasgow, Renfrew and Dumbarton, entered into an agreement to work on the river, for six weeks at a time, *per vices*, with a view chiefly to remove the ford at Dumbuck and the most prominent sandbanks. Though, it is added, this work was of considerable benefit to the navigation, the river was still in a very imperfect state, the shores were rugged and irregular; and as at high tide the water spread over a great surface, forming pools and islands, the most skilful skipper often ran the risk of missing the channel.⁷

During Queen Mary's reign the exemption from taxes first granted to the University by James II. in 1453, was con-

⁵ Gibson's *History*, p. 84. Similar notes taken from the existing records are continued by Gibson who correctly states that in 1574 Lord Boyd was appointed provost during the archbishop's lifetime and his lordship's acceptance (*Glasg. Rec.* i. pp. 22, 23). This continuity of reference adds to the likelihood of a previous council record being really in existence in Gibson's time. But there is little chance of the book again becoming available, and without it the historian must be content to leave much of the city's sixteenth century experiences in obscurity.

⁶ *Antea*, p. 387.

⁷ Cleland's *Annals* (1829) p. 371.

firmed and on other occasions was adapted to the special circumstances of its office bearers. The first of these confirmations is contained in a Letter by the Earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, dated 6th July, 1547, in which previous letters of exemption are enumerated and ratified and the University and its rectors, dean of faculty, procurators regents, masters and scholars, relieved of all taxations, exactions and other charges that might be imputed to them. In 1554-5 the clergy of Scotland agreed to levy a crown contribution of £10,000. At that time John Colquhoun, parson of Stobo, was rector of the University, John Layng, parson of Luss, was dean of faculty, and John Houston, vicar of Glasgow, was regent in the "Pedagog"; and the Queen-regent, recognising the exemptions formerly granted to members of the university, "and being myndit rather to augment nor hurt thare privilegis," granted a Letter under her signet, discharging the collector of the tax from levying any part of it from Stobo and Luss parsonages and Glasgow vicarage. The Letter is dated 8th February, 1555-6; and by similar documents, dated respectively 15th June, 1556, and 14th March, 1556-7, the rector, dean of faculty and principal in the University, for the time, were relieved from payment from their respective benefices of any part of a crown contribution of £2,000 granted by the clergy in May, 1556, and another of £2,500 granted by them in December of that year.⁸

About this time Archbishop Beaton definitely annexed

⁸*Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 118, 122-4. In 1556-7 Archibald Betoun "chantour of Aberdeine" was rector, John Houston was dean of faculty, and John Davidson, "pensionar of the personage of Kinkell, within the diocy of Aberdeine" was principal regent. Stationers and parchment-makers are included in the enumeration of those sharing in the university's exemption from taxation in 1453 (*Ibid.* p. 38). Manufacture of parchment thus seems to have been practised in Glasgow, and it is noted that in 1531, when large numbers of parchment skins were being purchased for crown purposes, the lord high treasurer bought some of these in Glasgow (*L.H.T. Accounts*, vi. p. 50).

the vicarage of Colmonell, in the deanery of Carrick and shire of Ayr, to the University. This was done by a charter granted at the archbishop's "Palace" on 24th January, 1557-8, but in previous writings there are indications that the annexation had been resolved upon in 1537, and in a lease granted in 1552 the rector of the university consented for his interest. Under the name of Kirk-Colmanele, the church with its pertinents belonged to the bishops of Glasgow and these were confirmed to them by three successive Popes, in the twelfth century. The rectory and revenues were settled on the chapter of Glasgow and were possessed by that body till the Reformation. For some years after 1557 the revenues of the vicarage were paid to John Davidson, principal regent of the university, and under the new foundation, in 1572-3, the vicarage was assigned to the principal of the college as the chief part of his remuneration.⁹

According to title deeds and rental, the university was possessed of four acres of land in Dowhill, "betuix the burne and the Muyr buttis," but when the ground was measured by the "barony men," at the bishop's command, in 1557, it was found to be over two falls short of that area. On the supposition that this deficient ground had been lost through encroachment by neighbouring proprietors, it was agreed that their "evidents" or title deeds should be examined, but according to a memorandum made at Whitsunday, 1559, that had not been accomplished, because, in the first place, the archbishop "passit to France to the Quenis marriage" and latterly "the controversie rays betuix the Protestants and the Papistis for the religione."¹⁰

Just in time to escape the more acute stage of this

⁹ *Munimenta*, pp. xiv, xvi, 56, 62; *Caledonia*, p. 541; *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 2112-3. In exercise of their right of patronage, the dean and chapter, on 24th February, 1477-8, chose a parish clerk of Colmonell, and on the same day the archbishop gave him official admission (*Reg. Episc.* Nos. 414-5).

¹⁰ *Munimenta*, p. 67.

"controversie," and by means of a seal of cause to obtain the recognition of the archbishop and authority for the maintenance of altar services, the cordiner and "barker" or tanner craftsmen, on 27th February, 1558-9, presented a supplication to the magistrates and council, seeking ratification of their rules and regulations conform to the usual practice. The honour of holy kirk, the common weal of the town and the profit of "our soverane lord and ladyis" lieges repairing thither, augmentation of divine service at the altar of St. Ninian in the metropolitan kirk, with "the honour of the sanctis Crispine and Crispinani, our patrones," are set forth as leading motives for the application, and then followed a statement of the "statutes, articles and rules" desired to be sanctioned. These included power to choose a "dekin and kirkmaster," sanction for specified sums to be paid for maintenance of the altar by craftsmen on setting up booth, by prentices at their entry, by masters and servants weekly, and by those presenting to the market any work or "barkit" leather. Prentices had to serve for seven years, and a freeman was to take one only in the seven years, and there were rules as to stands in the market, the hours of the market, the inspection of work, the employment of servants, giving obedience to the deacon and imposition of fines. The deacon, with advice of the worthiest craftsmen, was also to be authorised to make statutes to their own craft for the commonweal and profit of the burgh.¹

¹ Within eleven years after this seal of cause was obtained by the cordiners it was superseded by another (27th June, 1569) in almost identical terms, so far as relating to business and workmanship but containing variations necessitated by changes in national affairs. In the seal of 1558 allusion is made to the lieges of "our Soverane Lord and Lady, the King and Quene," Francis and Mary. Ere 1569 was reached Mary had passed through two widowhoods, dethronement and exile; and in the second seal of cause her son, "the king," is referred to as the ruling sovereign. Then, in consequence of the Reformation, maintenance of divine service at a cathedral altar was illegal, and the money formerly so destined was, in 1569, appointed to be given in support of poor decayed brethren and relief of the common charges of the craft. Money, also, formerly spent on banquets was in future to be used



SEAL OF JAMES BEATON, THE LAST ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP, 1557-60.

The magistrates and council, with consent of the archbishop, approved of and confirmed the statutes, articles and rules, and the seal of the archbishop and the common seal of the burgh were appended to the written parchment.

for similar charitable purposes. No reference was made to the archbishop and the magistrates and council were the sole granters of the new seal of cause. See *Cordiners of Glasgow*, by William Campbell (1883) pp. 248-55; also *The Scottish Craft Guild*, by Robert Lamond, in *S.H.R.* xvi. pp. 191-211.

CHAPTER LIV

DUKE OF CHATELHERAULT, BAILIE OF REGALITY—PROTECTION TO ARCHBISHOP—PROGRESS OF REFORMATION—ATTACKS ON CHURCHES AND MONASTERIES—TREATY WITH ENGLAND—RETURN OF FRENCH ARMY—DEPARTURE OF ARCHBISHOP BEATON—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT

ARCHBISHOP BEATON having, with consent of his chapter, of new constituted the Duke of Chatelherault, and his heirs, bailies of the barony and regality of Glasgow, for the space of nineteen years, the Duke on 6th February, 1557-8, granted to the archbishop a bond of maintenance in the same terms as that given to Archbishop Dunbar in 1547.¹ Reference is made to "this perillous and dangerous tyme, quhair detestabil heresies ryse and increas in the diocy of Glasgow"; and the duke undertook to repress these to the utmost of his power. Lands, servants and tenants were to be protected; and in the military phraseology of "bands of manrent" he became bound "to ryde, mantene supply and fortifie and tak afald part" with the archbishop and the chapter, in all their good, honest and lawful matters, actions and quarrels, "and specialle sall assist and concur with him and tham in expelling of heresies within the diocy and punising of heretykis."

In the preceding December the lords of the congregation had issued their manifesto of Protestantism and the struggle

¹ *Antea*, pp. 373-4; *Glasg. Chart.* i. pt. ii. pp. 125-6.

between the adherents of the old faith and the propagators of the new was approaching the final stage. The Queen-Regent was petitioned for immediate reform in ecclesiastical affairs, but no impression was made in that quarter, and as for the spiritual authorities they committed the fatal blunder of putting the venerable Walter Mill to death by burning on a charge of heresy. This was on 28th April, 1558, and thenceforth Protestant preachers became more energetic and popular than ever. The Roman Catholic clergy were defied and on account of the increasing number of their opponents became powerless to punish transgressors. On 1st January, 1558-9, a manifesto called the "Beggars Summons," containing an incisive indictment of the Friars and Clergy, and purporting to come from all cities, towns and villages of Scotland, was found placarded on the gates of every religious establishment in Scotland.

On 9th February, 1558-9, Letters in name of the Queen-Regent were ordered to be proclaimed at the market crosses of the burghs of Linlithgow, Glasgow, Irvine and Ayr, charging the lieges therein that none of them should take upon hand to commit, attempt or do any injury or violence to or disturb the service used in the churches, strike, menace or "bost" priests, or eat flesh in Lent, under the penalty of death.² This proclamation, similar to that sent to other burghs, is highly significant of the state of feeling prevalent at the time.

A Provincial Council of the clergy was summoned to meet in the house of the Dominican Friars at Edinburgh, on 1st March, 1558-9, to deal with the religious difficulty, and at this council, for attendance at which Archbishop Beaton had called his suffragans and diocesan clergy, admirable resolutions and decrees were passed, but it was then too late to avert the threatened change.³

² *L. H. Treas. Accounts*, x. p. 416.

³ *Statutes of the Scottish Church* (S.H.S. No. 54) pp. 149-91.

John Knox finally returned to his native country on 2nd May, 1559, about which time the protestant preachers had been summoned to appear before the Regent and answer for their persistency in spreading the new opinions. Postponement of the proceedings had been negotiated by a large body of sympathisers assembled at Perth, but unexpectedly, in consequence of the non-appearance of the accused, sentences of outlawry were pronounced against them. This brought on a climax. After a sermon on the idolatries of Rome and the Christian duty of ending them, preached by Knox in the parish church of Perth, on 11th May, the church was stripped of its images and ornaments, not "a monument of idolatry" being left in the building. The "rascal multitude" then took up the work, attacking the places of the Dominicans and Franciscans and the Charterhouse Abbey, and within a couple of days only the walls of these buildings remained. Destruction of church buildings also took place at St. Andrews in the beginning of June and similar excesses were witnessed elsewhere, and notwithstanding negotiations and temporary arrangements it was at last recognized that between the Regent and her revolted subjects there could be no compromise. We have no specific information as to what was happening in Glasgow during the summer months of this year, but it may be assumed with regard to the cathedral at least that so long as the Duke of Chatelherault steadfastly observed his undertaking to the archbishop and the chapter, both the building and its contents would be efficiently protected from injury.

A considerable accession to the Reformers' cause was gained when the Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, forced to flee from France by reason of his Protestant sympathies, joined the lords of the congregation when assembled at Stirling in September, 1559. Nor was this all. As the result of interviews with the duke himself, at Hamilton Palace, the lords secured his co-operation also :

and being thus supported and having raised a force of about 8,000 men the insurgents entered Edinburgh with the intention of laying siege to Leith which the Regent had fortified and garrisoned with 3,000 trained soldiers, most of whom had been brought from France. But in their few encounters with the Regent's forces the Reformers were not successful, and about the end of November it was arranged that Chatelherault, Argyle, Glencairn and the Lords Boyd and Ochiltree were to make their headquarters in Glasgow, while Arran and others, including John Knox, were to act from St. Andrews as their centre.

It has been stated that while this contingent was in Glasgow the religious houses were sacked and plundered, but no definite information on this subject is available. The place of the Blackfriars is not heard of as their residence subsequent to that period, though the church, needing and getting repairs, seems to have been continuously used. Of the Greyfriars' place or monastery, as it was sometimes called, nothing is known between the outbreak of 1559 and the middle of the following year, by which time the buildings, if not destroyed, were at least deserted by their former occupants. In a protocol dated 19th June, 1560, James Baxter, one of the Friars, is mentioned as having been "ejected," and in another protocol, ten days later in date, the place itself is referred to in the past tense, thus indicating that the building had either been removed or deserted.⁴ The churches of St. Tenew, Little St. Kentigern and St. Roche are not traced as in use for religious services subsequent to June, 1559, and the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne, a comparatively new structure, had to be renovated before being used as a protestant place of worship about thirty years after the Reformation.

In a judgment pronounced by the lords of council and session on 7th June, 1578, it is stated that before the month of

⁴ *Glasg. Prot.* Nos. 1370, 1374.

August, 1559, "the haill places of Freris within this realme wes demoliscit and cassin downe and the conventis quhilkis maid residence within the samin wer dispersit."⁵ This deliverance need not be accepted as literally accurate though perhaps correctly narrating the early dispersion of the Glasgow friars. Some of the buildings throughout the country must have remained in a more or less perfect condition, because in an order by the Privy Council dated 15th February, 1561-2, giving directions regarding "the places of freris, as yet standand undemolissit," it was indicated that Glasgow was one of the towns in which such buildings were still standing and the magistrates were authorised to uphold the same for the benefit of the town.⁶

After the fierceness of the earlier ravages was somewhat allayed the further demolition of buildings was strongly discouraged. In August 1560, a sort of circular was sent by the lords of the congregation to certain persons in different districts, requiring them to pass to the kirks within their bounds "and tak down the haill images thereof and bring them furth to the kirkyard and burn them openly, and siclyke cast down the altars, and purge the kirk of all kinds of monuments of idolatry; and this ye fail not to do, as ye will do us singular empleasure; and so commits to the protection of God. Fail not but ye tak good heed that neither the desks, windocks, nor doors be onyways hurt or broken, either glassin work or iron work."⁷ It is, therefore, probable that the cathedral and all the other churches in the city were cleared of their remaining altars, relics and ornaments, either by the churchmen themselves,

⁵ *Lib. Coll.* etc. p. lxvi. The Grey Friars got their usual gift of herrings from the king subsequent to 1st November, 1559 (*Glasg. Prot.* No. 2291), but it does not necessarily follow that their Glasgow buildings were occupied by the Friars at that time.

⁶ *Privy Council Reg.* i. p. 202.

⁷ Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, iii. p. 354.



who removed them for safety, or by the unsparing Reformers in their zeal for the suppression of idolatry.

In the month before this circular was issued Glasgow cathedral was probably in a deserted and dismantled condition. On 19th July, when the archbishop was on his way to France, a chaplain acting as procurator for the newly appointed rector of Govan, appeared in presence of the subdean, at the outside of the cathedral, produced letters from the archbishop and asked institution to his prebend. The subdean received the letters and came to the door of the choir and chapter-house but could not gain admittance. Neither could he get the surplice, cape, and other usual ornaments for such a ceremony, but symbolic possession was given by the subdean delivering a book to the procurator who thereupon protested that the rector had thus obtained lawful institution to his benefice.⁸

Meanwhile national events of momentous importance had occurred. The Queen-Regent had taken possession of Edinburgh two days after the lords of the congregation quitted the city, though the castle remained in the hands of Lord Erskine, the governor. Reinforcements arrived from France, enabling her army to take the field against the Reformers, who were by that time almost abandoning hope of a successful issue to their cause. But the negotiations they had been carrying on with Queen Elizabeth resulted in a compact which completely turned the scale in their favour. By this Treaty, concluded on 27th February, 1559-60, it was agreed that an English army should enter Scotland to assist in driving the French soldiery out of the kingdom.

On the approach of the united forces the Queen-Regent, then in an infirm state of health, retired to Edinburgh Castle, where she died on 10th June. By this time all parties were eager for peace, and on 6th July it was arranged that the

⁸ *Glasg. Prot.* No. 1382.

Leith fortifications should be demolished, that the French soldiers should leave the country, that till the return of Queen Mary the government should be entrusted to a council of twelve persons, of whom the Queen was to appoint seven and the estates five, and that the estates of the realm should convene and hold a parliament in the ensuing month of August. In the second or third week of July the French army, accompanied by the archbishop of Glasgow, embarked at Leith, on the return to their own country and the English army departed towards Berwick. Authorities differ as to the precise date of the French army's departure from Leith, but some day between 13th and 19th July is usually given.

It must have been during the period that Archbishop Beaton was with the army in Leith fort that the muniments, images, jewels and ornaments, taken by him to France, were removed from the cathedral. From the time when the destruction of church property was commenced, and specially after the Duke of Chatelherault joined the lords of the congregation, he would naturally be apprehensive for the safety of these treasures and no doubt the strong fort at Leith was regarded as the securest place of custody within reach. Transmission was easy as the well-known old thoroughfare from Glasgow to Linlithgow's port of Blackness was open, and thence the communication by water to Leith port was well within the regent's command. It is not likely that there was at first any intention of taking the muniments farther than Leith, but as events turned out there was no alternative to their removal to France if the archbishop's control over them was to be continued.

There are no contemporary accounts containing a connected narrative of the archbishop's movements during the last year of his residence in this country, but some statements have obtained currency in the pages of various chroniclers which may be accepted as at least approximately accurate. Thus at the time when the western members of the "congrega-

tion" took up their quarters in Glasgow, in November, 1559, it is said that the Duke of Chatelherault caused the images and altars in the churches there to be removed and that he, with the earls of Argyle and Arran, occupied the archbishop's castle and began to fortify it. Archbishop Beaton along with Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, had by that time "declared themselves openly with the French" and obtained the shelter afforded by the garrison at Leith fort. When the news from Glasgow of the occupation of the castle reached the Queen-Regent she sent French troops, along with the archbishop, and they soon recovered possession of the buildings which had been seized and then returned to Leith. It may have been on this if not on an earlier occasion that Beaton removed his valuables to Leith, including that mass of registers and charters without the use of which the history of Glasgow from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries would, in many parts now clearly expiscated, have been as vague as that of the years leading back to the time of St. Kentigern.

The leaders of the congregation having resumed possession of the castle, it was again in their hands in March when the Queen-Regent sent a large force of foot soldiers and horsemen to attack the garrison. As related in a letter from the duke, dated 21st March, 1559-60, the soldiers left in the Bishop's castle and "stepill," being outnumbered, surrendered to the French, and on their entry a barrel of gunpowder exploded, killing thirteen men and injuring others. An encounter took place at Glasgow bridge when eight Frenchmen were slain. The attacking forces then left the town, pursued by the earl of Arran and a body of horsemen.⁹ After this

⁹ *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, i. No. 694; *Medieval Glasgow*, pp. 222-7, and authorities there cited.

A somewhat different account of this raid is given in the *Diurnal of Occurrences* (p. 56):—"Upoun the xv day of March, 1559, the Frenchemen past to Glasgow and chaisit the congregatioun furth of the samyne, and remaynit thair twa nychtis, and than come to Linlithgow, quhairin thaj lay quhill the xxvij day of the samyne moneth; and in thair passing to Glasgow, and

unsuccessful attack the French troops seem to have been discouraged from further attempts in that direction, and the result of the skirmish may to some extent have hastened their ultimate surrender about three months thereafter.

In accordance with the July arrangement parliament assembled in August. Among a large number of temporal and spiritual lords the duke of Chatelherault, the earl of Arran and the archbishop of St. Andrews were present, but, contrary to the original intention, royalty was not represented.¹⁰ Glasgow appears in the list of "Commissaris of Burrois," but the name of its representative is not given. Probably Robert Lindsay of Dunrod, who was provost at that time, was the "commissar."

After prolonged discussions parliament passed a series of epoch making resolutions some of which may here be briefly cited. On 17th August the Confession of Faith "profest and believed be the protestants within the realme" was ratified. Seven days thereafter it was ordained that the "Bischope of Rome, called the Paip, half na jurisdiction nor authoritie within this realme" in future; all acts of parliament contrary to the Confession of Faith were annulled; and the saying or hearing of mass was prohibited under penalties involving fines, banishment or death.

Though these statutes as they stand on record were passed returnyng fra the samyne, thai spoulzeit all the cuntrie quhair thair passage lay. And thairefter when thai come to Linlithgw, the Frenchemen was purposit to have past to Hamiltoun for destructioun of the samyne; but thair come word that the Inglisemen was cuming in, quhilk stayit that purpose."

¹⁰ By the 9th article of the Agreement it was provided "that the estates of the realme should convene and hold a Parliament in the month of August next, for which a commission should be sent from the French King and the Queen of Scotland, and that the said convention should be as lawful in all respects as if the same had been ordained by the express commandment of their majesties" (*Spottiswoode*, i. p. 323). Mary was married to Francis on 24th April, 1558. After the death of Queen Mary of England Francis and Mary styled themselves King and Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland. Mary became Queen of France on the accession of her husband to the throne, on 10th July, 1559. Francis died on 5th December, 1560.

with ostensible unanimity, it is said that the acquiescence of the clergy was merely implied by their silence, and that three of the peers declared that they would continue to believe as their fathers before them had believed. For complete formality the consent or ratification of King Francis and Queen Mary was required but was not obtained ; and yet with all their defects of irregularity the acts expressed the will of the ruling classes of the nation, and on that account, and specially as they embodied the preponderating opinion and desire of intelligent people, they were thenceforth accepted as the law of the land.

In Glasgow more than in most towns, a city which had grown up under the influence of ecclesiastical rule and with a prominent section of its population belonging to the clerical class, the substitution of the presbyterian system for the spacious observances of the old hierarchy must have been specially trying. On the religious aspect there may have been divergent opinion, but, in the peculiar circumstances of the community, the dislocation of business and of established routine could scarcely have been regarded as otherwise than disastrous. That this was the prevailing view may readily be conceived, and though our knowledge of the common everyday occurrences in the Glasgow of that period is extremely meagre, it is learned from later records that many years elapsed before the inhabitants of the cathedral quarter of the city ceased to lament the interruption to material prosperity directly attributable to the changes introduced at the time of the Reformation.

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